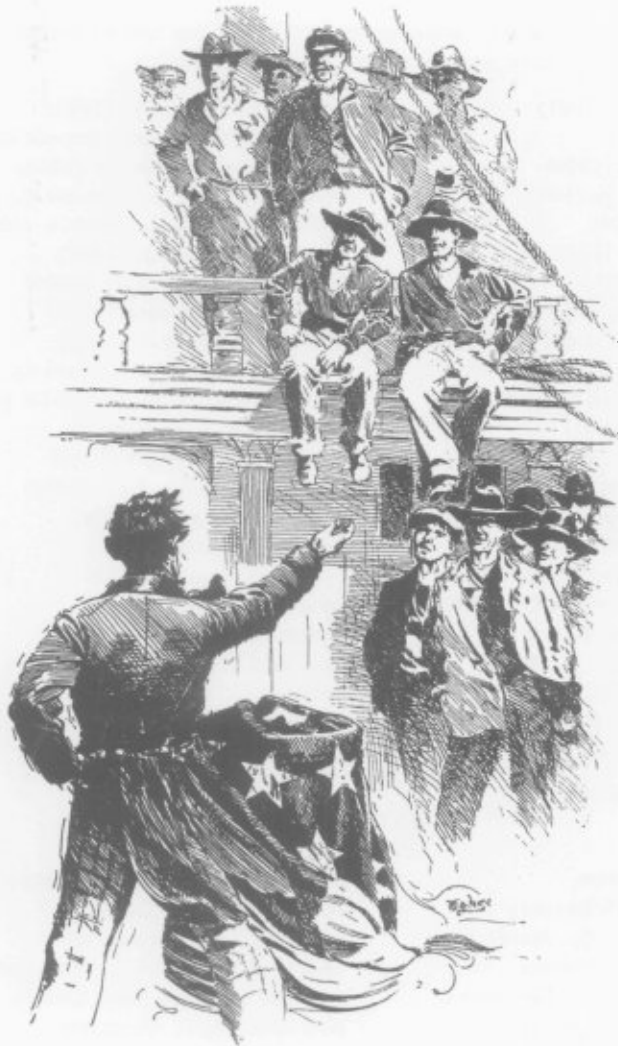


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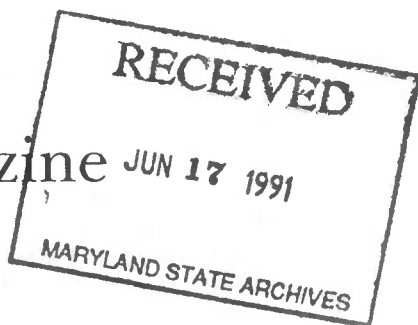
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Editor's Corner: In this issue we turn the attention of our readers to the sea—to the maritime-Maryland contribution to national independence and the part one of many Baltimore vessels played in the long, dangerous voyage south from the Chesapeake to Cape Horn and then to the California gold fields. Robert Alexander's study of a landmark church in the Monumental City reaffirms our commitment to architectural/social history. Merle Cole's photo essay reminds us, as we welcome home troops from the Persian Gulf War, that the Maryland militia has gone off to strange climes many times at the bidding of the commander-in-chief. Our usual thanks to Peter Curtis and Anne Turkos for their volunteer work in assembling the annual bibliography, this year accomplished with shrinking staff.

Cover design: *A Fourth of July Oration*, by I. W. Taylor. Independence Day as celebrated on board a vessel bound for the California gold fields. (*Century Magazine*, July, 1891.)

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St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, 1814-1817. Print by William Howard, ca. 1816. (Hambleton Collection, Peale Museum, Baltimore.)

“Wealth Well Bestowed in Worship”: St. Paul’s in Baltimore from Robert Cary Long, Sr., to Richard Upjohn

ROBERT L. ALEXANDER

Erected between 1814 and 1817, St. Paul’s Protestant Episcopal Church was the first new Anglican church raised in Baltimore after the Revolutionary War and one of the celebrated early nineteenth-century structures in the “Monumental City.” The impressive size of St. Paul’s but especially its unusual design features—its tower, columned portico, and rich interior—drew critical and popular attention from the beginning. Today, by studying contemporary documents, we can reconstruct the physical structure of the church and its evolution over a forty-year lifetime. We also are able to grasp more fully the church’s meaning to builders, clergy, and congregation alike.¹



In William Howard’s print, this third building on the site overwhelms the tiny first church (1739) placed below, and its grandeur contrasts with the modest second church (1779) shown at the right, a simple brick block resembling a large house. The subject of finances, which plagued the congregation well into the nineteenth century, had already become an important question in relation to its second. Parishioners began to voice a need for additional facilities in 1794, and by 1803 a new tower was raised beside the existing building, at the cost of resorting to a lottery for funds.² Not everyone agreed on the need for this addition, which critics later said looked like a brick kiln. John Eager Howard, Revolutionary War hero, former governor and United States senator, and one of the wealthiest men in Baltimore, refused reappointment to the vestry on grounds of poor health, but even more in opposition to the lottery and additional debt. Writing in 1805 from his suburban mansion Belvidere, he pointed out that in the past unusual expenses had been met by “a few Gentlemen, aided by the liberality of the congregation,” and continued:

The parish is now involved in considerable debts, and I consider their funds to be in a ruinous state; the means to which the vestry have resorted

Robert L. Alexander, emeritus professor of art history at the University of Iowa, has written a book on Maximilian Godefroy and many articles on American architecture.

to extricate themselves will, in my opinion, complete their ruin. I mean the lottery. I know from experience that the zeal of a few gentlemen will do much, but still I think your lottery will prove an unfortunate affair....

I do not think that the congregation can reasonably require me, at the risk of my health, to attend night meetings of the vestry to provide ways & means for paying debts that have been contracted in opposition to my opinion. In case your plans succeed, I wish those who projected them, & those who execute them, should have all the merit.

If the congregation will take my advice, they will at once pay their debts and put an end to the projected lottery, & in that case I will cheerfully contribute my proportion.³

The bell tower proved insufficient modernization in any event, and in 1809 the rector, the Rev. Frederick Beasley called for an entirely new structure. About 1810 a prominent member of the congregation, Nicholas Rogers, presented a large, handsome drawing of a temple, which, compared with the existing church, was a rich conception indeed. Characterized by the mid-eighteenth century taste Rogers acquired during his years of study and travel in Scotland and England, the temple included as its most striking element a tower rising almost 160 feet. Rogers's temple was not built. Rather, the commission to redesign and rebuild St. Paul's went to Robert Cary Long, Sr., a carpenter turned contractor in his twenties and then architect in his thirties. Long's new St. Paul's had a tower equal to the length of the building, 126 feet; it expressed a growing taste for neoclassicism.⁴

The height of Long's tower requires an explanation, as very tall towers were occasionally designed but less often built during the Federal period, when the verticality of the medieval spire was giving way to the horizontality of neoclassical taste. Probably it was related to the rector's urging the congregation to assert its Episcopalianism along with the construction of a new building, an attitude supported by the Rev. Dr. James Kemp, who succeeded Beasley as rector in 1812. Kemp was elected suffragan bishop in 1814 and bishop of the Maryland diocese in 1816. Long's tower, reaching upward toward St. Paul in Howard's print, expressed Episcopalian pride. In addition, Long adapted from Sir Christopher Wren's St. Paul's in London the paired Doric columns of the portico flanked by windows with arches above and paneled podia below. Benjamin Henry Latrobe's new Roman Catholic cathedral rose only a few hundred yards away, and it was to have a broad dome and two round-topped towers on its facade. In 1811, when its walls were completed up to the cornice, the Catholic cathedral's great size and architectural distinction already were in evidence. Long's St. Paul's would refer to St. Paul's in London (an Anglican cathedral larger than Latrobe's); its great tower would symbolize Episcopalian pre-eminence in the city of Baltimore.⁵

Still another important element may have played a part in the rejection of Rogers's temple. The modern neoclassicism of Latrobe's cathedral must have made the Rogers design appear old-fashioned. Long, on the other hand, had already taken a more up-to-date approach in his Union Bank (1807-1809) and

Medical College (1812-1814). In contrast to the late baroque richness of Rogers's temple, Long's neoclassical design emphasized the architectural members—the full orders of marble columns, wooden entablatures, and arched windows against the continuous wall planes. A surviving letter reveals Rogers's attitude toward Long's style as shown in the Union Bank. It also tells us that Rogers had not made a floor plan or interior design, that Long only recently had entered the picture, and that he was still forming his design. Writing from New York on 2 February 1814, Rogers complained bitterly to the rector:

Being informed by my Son that you have received my plan of the Church and that it is now in Long's hands who builds so many curious & comical things, and that means ever restless and fond of changes, he may take it into his head to go to murdering and mangling mine which any crooked twisted and evil genius may do by many mysterious & mischevious methods and then pass it for his own, the most prominent feature in most architects, for originality belongs to but few, and unluckily Long is not one of them except in his Charles street Bank and there I think he bears the palm, from me at least or anything I ever saw in my travels either at home or abroad; I think had the Bank Directors have given me a quarter cask of good old Madeira I should have saved them forty or fifty thousand dollars, (notwithstanding his boasted Economy). I speak positively and seriously & say also that it should have had five times it convenience and I may say one hundred times its beauty for that has none at all, *au contraire*, wonderfully full of deformity a sort of monster in Architecture, a kind of nondescript which I should like to hear him nay himself. ...the ground plan is not worth attending to that must be regulated by your Vestry and by your building committee and according to the size of your church, I have a much better in my head with some other new ideas. I am happy to hear you are able to think seriously of the business— whether you will build at the corner of Charles street and the Street running to the eastward, or more to the south in the body of your ground, you have hardly determined on, as the lots at the (co)rner would be considered much more valuable and make you hesitate, tho' either would do. Your chancel I think may be made very handsome at a moderate expence & is certainly the handsomest part of a Church. Success to your undertaking.

Rogers's condemnation of Long's taste may have been exaggerated (and made incoherent at a few places) by his hope that the church might still be constructed according to his own design.⁶

The church owned the whole block, its existing building approximately centered, fronting on Lexington (then New Church) Street, with the burial yard on three sides. This arrangement allowed the vestry in 1809 to sell parcels of ground along Lexington Street, probably to raise money for a new building. The vestry continued to think along these lines when on 15 April 1811 they defined a church lot of 110 feet on Lexington Street and 147 feet in depth. With the need for additional

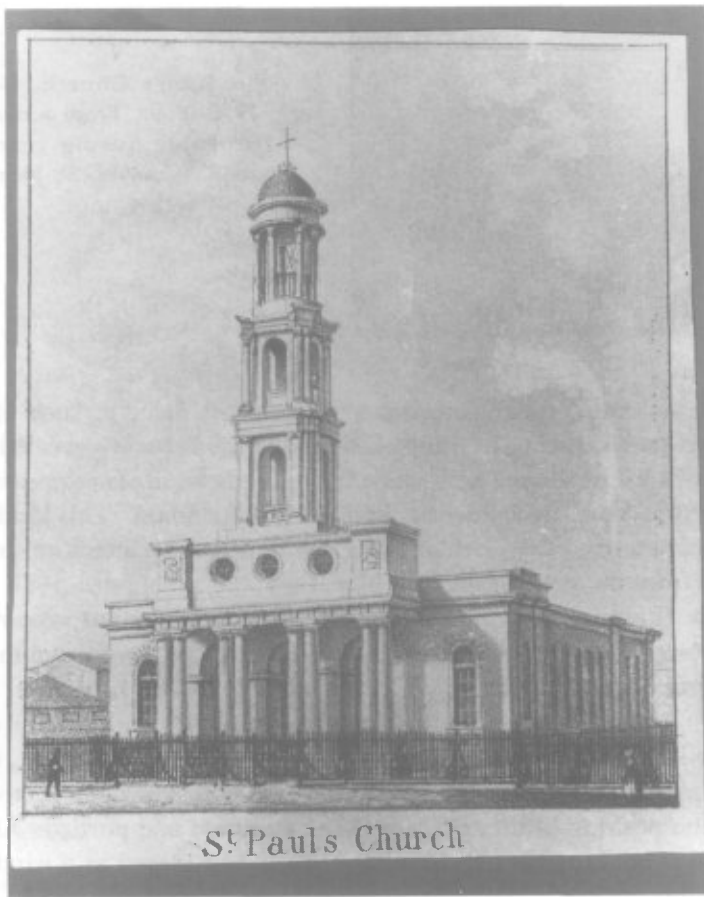


Detail from Thomas Poppleton's *Plan of Baltimore*, showing urban development around the third St. Paul's building at North Charles and Saratoga streets. (Hambleton Collection, Peale Museum, Baltimore.)

funds for construction, much more land was sold in 1813, 1815, and 1816, including lots on Charles Street and St. Paul's Lane. The purchasers were largely church members, most of them vestrymen, who recognized this area as prime real estate. Thomas Poppleton's map, completed in 1822, showed the dramatic change that came about as buildings rapidly filled the area.⁷

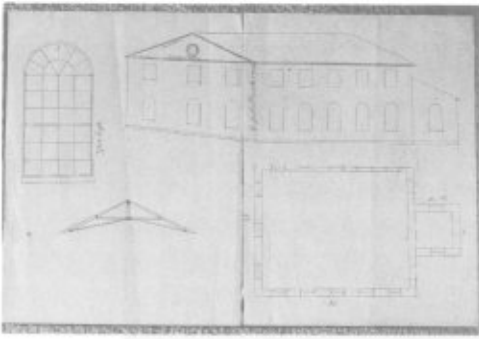
After the vestry decided to build in the northwestern corner of the block, construction began with cornerstone ceremonies on 4 May 1814. Although work was interrupted for several months from 1815 to 1816, the building was virtually completed when consecration took place on 11 March 1817.⁸





St. Paul's Church as it appeared in a lithograph, published by E. Weber & Co., ca. 1848. (Hambleton Collection, Peale Museum, Baltimore.)

Long ordered a large block for the body of St. Paul's, a colonnaded portico, and a great tower, generally in the tradition established by Wren and developed by James Gibbs, but with some distinct modernizations. Its broad proportions (84 feet across to 126 feet long) owed much to Wren. Other elements—the emphatic framing of the end bays along the side, corresponding to the vestibule and stairways at the west end and at the east to the vestry and sacristy flanking the chancel—were Gibbsian. The entrance was markedly neoclassical, with four pairs of Doric columns at the front of the portico framing three arched openings in the vestibule wall. Arched windows continued from the front around the sides, their broad lintels indicating the level of the gallery floor inside; as the use of two rows of windows was customary, the single row of tall windows probably emulated those of Latrobe's cathedral. Although Long adopted facade motifs from Wren's St. Paul's, he adapted them very freely. He simplified by eliminating much of the baroque richness of



St. John's Church, Georgetown, 1796-1809. From a drawing made probably during renovations of 1838. (Courtesy St. John's Church.)

details and moldings, thus achieving a neoclassical form in such elements as windows and the orders. The fluted columns without bases revealed a modern knowledge of ancient Greek Doric, while the multiplication of metopes in the frieze perhaps derived from the influential book of Robert Adam. This kind of stylistic melange characterized the work of Long, who utilized architectural publications and models from the past throughout his career.⁹

An attic story above the projecting portico, with three circular windows and two relief sculptures, served as the visual base for the great tower. Again the forms showed a free interpretation of Gibbsian models in the succession of square, octagonal, and circular stages, in the sequence of Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite orders, and in the small dome rather than a spire. Howard's print, in its strict frontality, captures well the stepped rise upward, while later perspectival renderings show the position of the tower over the vestibule and portico. All show the three oculi in the attic, but apparently only one was glazed as a window before 1832.¹⁰

A record of the shape of the east end of the church, the least known aspect of the building, comes from an unusual circumstance. In the corners of the building were niches intended to hold stoves, but a decision was made to install modern central heating. In August and September 1816 the architect Robert Mills, a specialist in heating, constructed a furnace between the vestry and the chancel in the high basement necessitated by the slope of the ground toward the east; a sketch in his diary provides some information on the disposition of the parts here. Between the projecting two-story blocks of the sacristy on the north and the vestry on the south, according to Mills's drawing, rose the broad curve of the chancel. A curved apse wall was unusual in Anglican church buildings, which customarily followed the English tradition of a rectangular east end, as at Christ Church (1722-1744; spire 1754) in Philadelphia. At St. Paul's it perhaps was inspired by rivalry with Latrobe's cathedral, but it may have been owed to the presence of such an apse at St. Paul's in London.¹¹

The tower and projecting portico, along with the spacing of windows, segmenting of side walls, and extension of the flanks at the east, exaggerated the length of St. Paul's. This quality of length, leading inside to the chancel, may well have responded to Bishop Kemp's high-church leanings. Other resemblances to St.

Paul's in London may have grown out of conferences between the bishop and the architect. As client Kemp would also have approved of the modern architectural style as befitting the seat of a diocese. The profuse use of columns rising up the tower in the classical sequence and the specific form of the orders following the new understanding of classical architecture, windows in arched recesses in the modern English manner employed also by Latrobe, and the bare planes of the walls—these represented Long's desire to be modern. His building signalled the late Federal period, a time of transition toward the Greek revival style.

The unusual nature of the building can be understood more clearly through comparison with other Anglican church structures. Its predecessor, the second St. Paul's (1779), was a gabled block with no projecting parts, so that the chancel and vestibule (if any) were formed inside the rectangle. It had windows on two levels, square on the front and arched along the sides, but whether it had galleries is not known. In Georgetown the original building for St. John's (1796-1809), known from a rough drawing, was a gable-roofed brick block slightly longer than wide (51 by 42 feet) with a square (16 feet) entrance vestibule; about 1840 a tower was raised over the vestibule. Here too the chancel was contained within the block. Roughly half the size of St. Paul's, it had similar proportions that reflected the tradition of Wren's auditory churches. Windows on two levels admitted light from all sides and



St. James's Church, Philadelphia, 1807-1809, entrance front. (Courtesy Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

without interruption since there were no galleries. Only in its barren simplicity was it less than typical, for a three-part, Palladian window in the chancel wall often marked the site of the altar. Closer in time to St. Paul's, St. James's (1807-1809; demolished 1871) in Philadelphia was a large block with arched windows on two levels. A small gabled block with an arched doorway served as entry and vestibule. Both blocks were decorated by a triangular pediment and pilasters, and the whole was stuccoed, this enrichment perhaps a recognition that the eminent Bishop William White served as rector here. A central emphasis was strongly marked by the Palladian window over the entry; perhaps a similar, but taller window opened on the chancel at the other end. Inside, gallery staircases rose on either side of the entrance, and the interior had proportions similar to those of Long's building. All of these buildings were little more than rectangular boxes, and whether simple or elaborate, the red and white color of colonial and Georgian architecture dominated.¹²

St. James's was stuccoed, a treatment favored by neoclassicists since the late eighteenth century. Only one observer recorded the same surfacing on St. Paul's. A professional architect from Philadelphia, Thomas U. Walter, on visiting the building in 1835, remarked, "This Church is an attempt at classical architecture, but a perfect failure—the steeple is composed of Bricks roughcast and is supported on a *wooden* architrave which rests on stone columns." While this judgment may have been a mean-spirited Philadelphian comment growing out of inter-city rivalry, Walter showed his architectural training and experience in criticizing the inappropriate structural relations of stone, wood, and brick, as well as his Greek revival aesthetic in condemning the mixture of ancient and eighteenth-century elements in a "classical" building. His description provides, nonetheless, the very important information that the brickwork of the tower was "roughcast," that is, stuccoed, and such a treatment must have been applied to the whole building. The brick fabric conformed with fire regulations adopted soon after Baltimore became a city in 1797, but details, such as columns of marble and freestone window panels, were white. In contrast with the old-fashioned Federal scheme of red brick and wood painted white, the near-white stuccoed St. Paul's evoked the modern neoclassicism being established in Baltimore.¹³

A tall tower or monumental portico signalled unusual prominence in a very few Anglican churches in major cities. Christ Church in Philadelphia retains a longitudinal emphasis that is enhanced by white stone and wood elements in red brick. Even after receiving its tower and spire (1754), it lacked the monumental entry of St. Paul's. St. Michael's (1756-1761) in Charleston is the only pre-revolutionary Anglican church building with both a monumental portico and a great tower as part of its original construction. An outstanding example of the Wren-Gibbs type, it is of brick, stuccoed and painted white. St. Paul's Chapel (1764-1766) in New York and King's Chapel (1749-1754) in Boston are both of stone in darker tones. The former acquired its monumental portico and great tower in 1794-1796, but at opposite ends of the building. Peter Harrison had designed both elements for King's Chapel, and the granite building received its portico of wooden columns in 1785-1787, but the spire was never added. Although the Revolution enforced

disestablishment, the tall tower and portico of giant columns remained marks of distinction. Thus, St. Paul's in Baltimore was the first Episcopal church built after the Revolution to receive both features. Although the bishop called St. Paul's a parish church in his remarks to the diocesan convention of 1817, he described it as "perhaps the largest and most elegant building of its kind in the United States." There can be no doubt that the designer and the client intended with St. Paul's to mark a new stage in both architecture and religion in Baltimore. With smooth white stuccoed surfaces, neoclassical vocabulary, and greater complexity in overall form introduced by the portico, tower, apse, and end blocks, Long and Kemp rejected the traditional type of parish church in order to designate St. Paul's as the seat of a bishopric.¹⁴

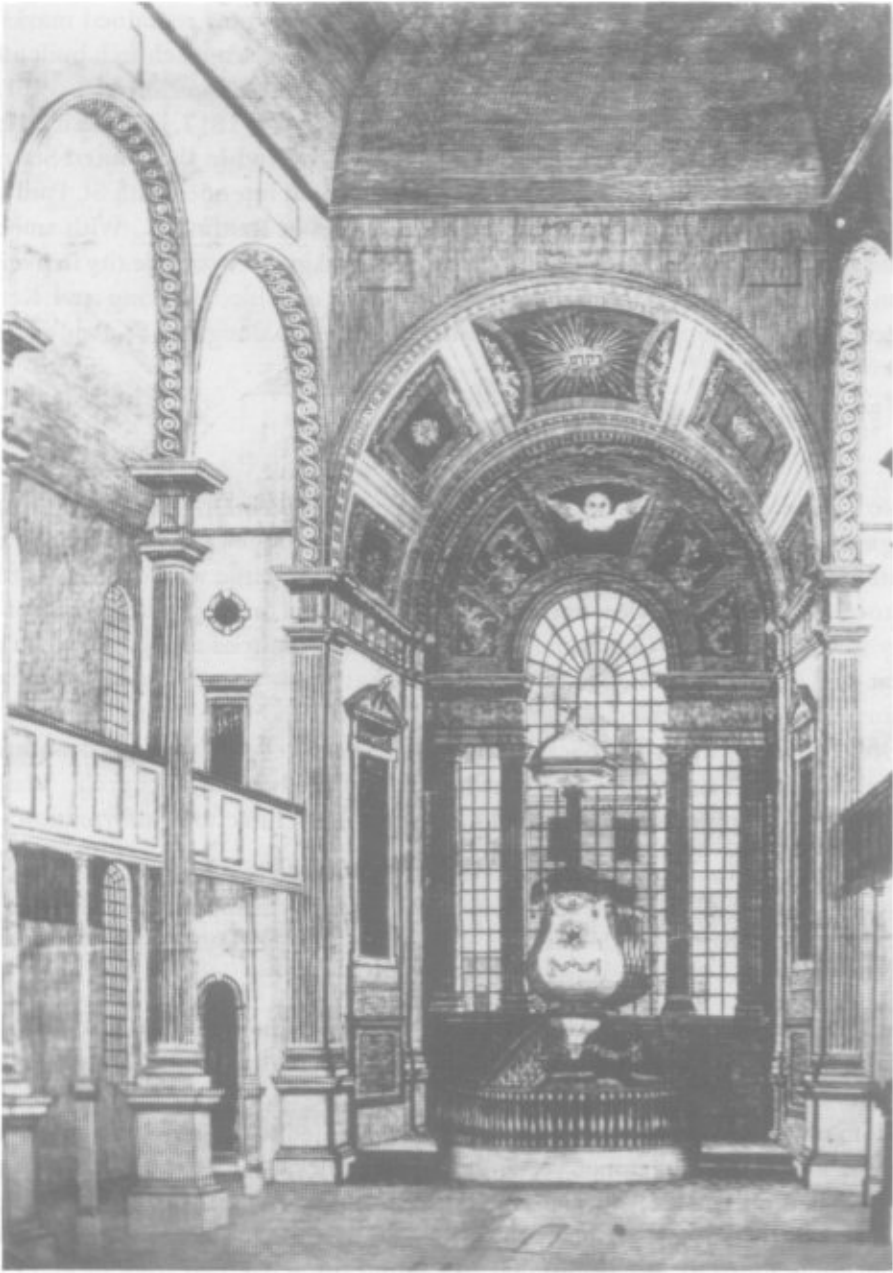


No image of St. Paul's interior has survived, but written accounts suggest a magnificence rising from the orders and the rich ornament against the generally white interior, all highly visible owing to the numerous large windows. A Scottish visitor who attended services at the new St. Paul's noted briefly that the interior "is very splendid; rows of Corinthian columns support the roof and galleries, and a great deal of gilding and decoration is lavished around. Some rags of popery are unfortunately interspersed—*Laus Deo*, for instance, upon the organ, and I. H. S. encircled by rays upon the back of the pulpit." He accepted the rich decoration more easily than the symbolism that he read correctly as high church. Walter, though less complimentary, provided more specific architectural information:

The Organ is arranged over the Pulpit. The whole is well arranged as to general principle, but mean in detail. The Gallery is supported the same as that of Christ Church Philada the ceiling is arched and supported on large columns from the "tower of the Winds."

In calling the ornament "mean in detail" Walter undoubtedly was criticizing its Adamesque linearity as opposed to his preference for full-bodied Greek revival forms.¹⁵

From the groin-vaulted inner vestibule one door led to the nave, and two at the sides to stairways to an upper vestibule for the galleries. The interior measured about one hundred feet from the vestibule to the end of the chancel and was about seventy-five feet wide. In plan, thus, the interior was little deeper than wide, proportions more or less traditional. Defining the nave, two rows of eight tall Corinthian columns formed colonnades about twenty-six feet apart. Between the easternmost columns stood four more, close-set and acting as a screen across the chancel, the circular walls of which reached the corner columns. Another four close-set columns stood at the western end of the colonnades by the vestibule wall. Giant columns of this sort were very rare in Anglican churches. Perhaps the best example is Christ Church in Philadelphia, probably the model for St. Paul's, for it, too, is a large building, and Bishop Kemp was ordained there. Its columns and tall



Interior of Christ Church, Philadelphia. From a mid-nineteenth century view. (Courtesy Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

pedestals measure about twenty-one feet high, and those at St. Paul's probably were about the same height. Walter noted that the columns were of the Tower of the Winds order, a simplified Corinthian with tall lanceolate leaves around the central

body of the capital and short acanthus leaves at its base. This order was suited to the talents of the carpenter and plasterer and certainly was cheaper than the more elaborate forms of Corinthian. Nevertheless, comparison of the two interiors suggests a desire to equal Christ Church, the venerable church of the episcopate of Philadelphia.¹⁶

The columns bore a continuous entablature (rather than the entablature blocks and arches of Christ Church) which was repeated against the outer walls, the vestibule wall, and the walls and chancel at the east end. From the entablatures of the long colonnades rose the semi-circular vault over the nave, meeting the arched front of the chancel and its semi-domical ceiling at the east end, and continuing at the west over the upper gallery for African-Americans located above the vestibule. The columns also supported deep galleries with balustraded fronts (rather than the light-blocking panels of Christ Church) on all four sides of the nave. At the east end the gallery held the organ in the center, above the pulpit as Walter noted, and for a choir of sixty there were four curving rows of seats. A bull's eye window in the semi-dome and a semi-circular window placed high on either side lit this area.¹⁷

Interior walls and ceilings and undoubtedly the pews were white. Stucco ornament on both plaster and wood provided an Adamesque decoration with touches of gilding. The shafts of the tall columns were painted to imitate yellow marble, their bases and capitals white. Organ pipes were gilded and crimson draperies hung over the fronts of the choir loft and side galleries, as well as the pulpit, reading desk, and chancel rail. Kneeling cushions for communicants were placed on the marbled socle of the chancel rail, an indication that the altar stood near the chancel opening. Probably of painted wood, the slab and engaged supporting columns of the altar imitated Siena marble, the capitals and bases of the columns were bronzed; intervening slabs resembled streaked marble. In this period rich materials and colors frequently were concentrated on the religious focal point to hold the attention of the congregation.¹⁸

At the east end, altar, pulpit, probably reading desk, and baptismal font, with the organ and its gilded pipes directly above, were arranged in an axial sequence continuing the line of the central aisle. Perhaps the clerk's desk stood at the opposite end. With the colonnades and galleries, these established a formal, ceremonial setting.

A few letters from early in 1815 concern this important theological problem in design. Apparently Bishop Kemp was uneasy about the projected arrangement of the church furniture and wrote to Bishop William White of Philadelphia for his opinion. White responded immediately, and the word "handsome" applied to the chancel suggests that the criticisms of Rogers were still in mind:

It is a question of Taste—at least principally so. On that Ground, I do not perceive, how a Chancel can be made handsome. I never saw an Instance of the Arrangement, excepting in the Lutheran Church in this City; which does not reconcile it to my Fancy. What you mention of a Clerk's being behind the Backs of the Congregation is no awkward Circumstance in my

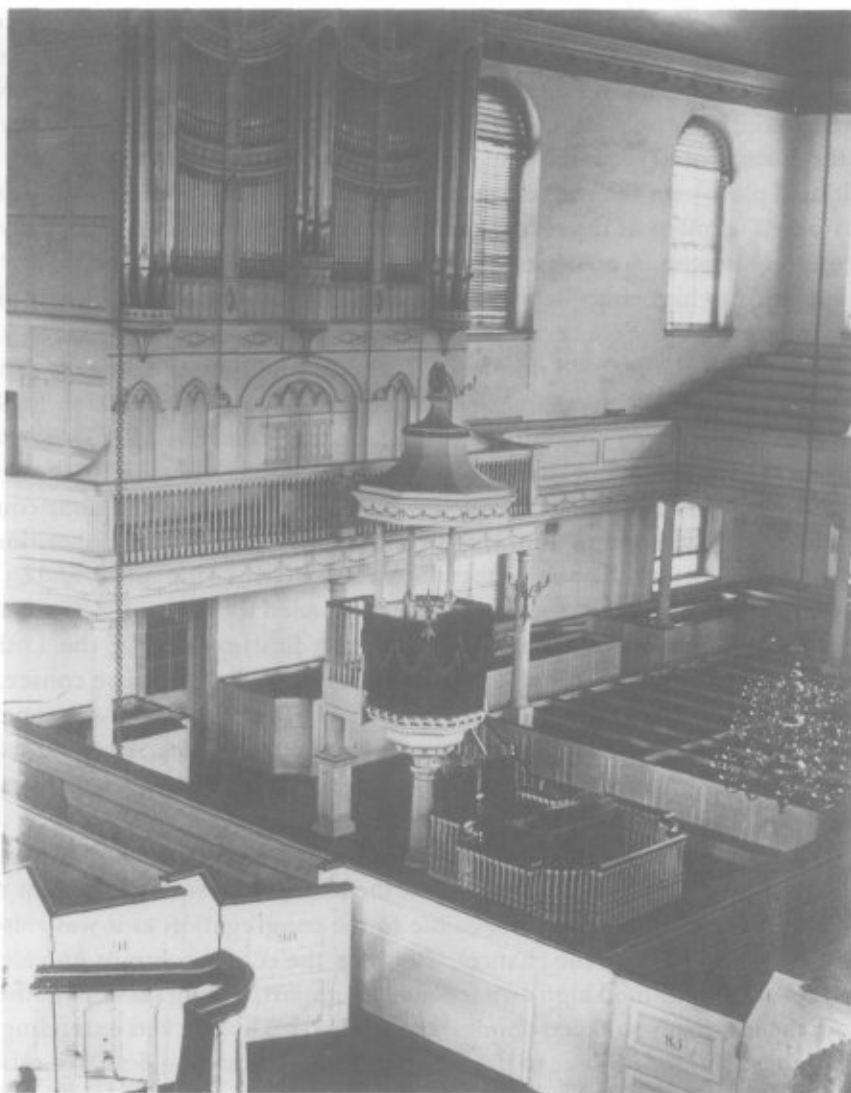
Estimation; he being one of them, & not known in his official Character by our Rubrics. Neither do I see any Objection to the Steeple's being so placed....

On the question of the Situation of the Communion Table, I find you have resolved on it's being behind the Pulpit. This has always appeared to me somewhat disparaging (of the) most solemn Act of our Religion. It is true, you have many Examples before you, in England & in America. But how did this happen? It was by an Alteration of the Stile of Building. The Cathedrals, & the old Parish-Churches, have no Galleries. The Pulpit is thrown on one side, & the Chancel is open. If a Gallery is admitted, the Accommodation of the Congregation impels to the placing of the Pulpit in the very spot where it ought least of all to be.

Throughout his whole ministry, the bishop complained, he struggled with the behavior of choir members. He felt the suggested position behind the preacher and reader might lead to more decorous conduct among the musicians and less distraction of the congregation.¹⁹

The reference to Zion Lutheran Church led to further query, and a few months later Cornelius Comegys, a former parishioner and vestryman of St. Paul's, recently moved to Philadelphia, wrote to Bishop Kemp about the arrangement of the altar, pulpit, and organ in Zion. Being opposed to experiment, he preferred the old arrangement, convinced that "the preacher will experience some little embarrassment unless indeed your Clerk is very attentive...." No longer a member of St. Paul's, Comegys was hesitant to counter the opinions of Long who, "independent of his reputation as an Architect," was much interested in the church.²⁰

These men approached a question that had been a major controversy in the Protestant Episcopal church since the Reformation.²¹ Bishops had been impeached and imprisoned for opposing the views of those in power for the moment. To balance the pulpit and the altar was the problem. If the altar, the most sacred object in the church, stood at the easternmost recess of the chancel, perhaps behind a chancel screen, the congregation had difficulty in seeing and hearing, so that the ritual lost its significance as a regular part of the services. If the altar was moved to the opening of the chancel or into the nave, it ran the risk of becoming just another piece of furniture. As the congregation participated in the services through use of the vernacular and singing and response and therefore had to see and hear the preacher, the placement of the pulpit increased in importance and threatened to dominate the altar. Pre-Reformation buildings offered many difficulties in their adaptation to the new demands; the pulpit, for example, usually was set against a nave pier in order to be near all members of the congregation, and the chancel screen was removed in order to reduce the distance of communion services. Sir Christopher Wren responded to the new demands by creating the auditory church—the change of "Stile" that Bishop White referred to—a single open space, shorter and wider than the medieval building, with galleries, so that



Interior of Zion Lutheran Church, Philadelphia. Photograph ca. 1859. (Courtesy Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

the whole congregation was close enough to see and hear the preacher, and a shallow chancel at the east for the altar.

Through the eighteenth century the altar and the pulpit were moved to various positions, along with the reading desk and the baptismal font. Several centers of attention could distract the congregation, as Bishop White noted, and attempts to achieve greater focus led to placing the font near the altar or the pulpit and to combining the reader's desk with the pulpit. The latter effort produced a single piece of furniture known as the double-decker, the preacher above and the reader

below; a triple-decker if the clerk's desk was added, for it often was attached to the reader's desk. Whereas the separate pulpit and reader's desk might flank the altar, the double- or triple-decker often stood in front of it for best contact with the whole congregation, although some found this arrangement "disparaging" to the altar and the Eucharist. Frequently the organ stood at the east end rather than in its traditional place over the west entrance, usually in a loft hollowed out of the tower structure. The place of the clerk's desk had some importance as he usually cued the congregation on its activities, e.g., for singing and responses, and he had to be visible to all, but his being "behind the Backs of the Congregation" clearly did not seem a matter of great concern to the bishop.

Having fewer elements to deal with, Lutherans had more easily resolved the problem, apparently without imposing a standard arrangement. Zion Lutheran Church in Philadelphia concentrated the elements axially, having its organ loft raised on the east wall and centered, the pulpit in front of it, and then the altar almost in the center of the building. Protected by its railing, the altar could be approached by many communicants in the ample space. This disposition was established in 1794-1796 upon restoration of the interior after a fire, and so was a recent example resembling the arrangement planned for St. Paul's. The lack of a prominent location for the clerk—who did not function during the Lutheran service—made Comegys apprehensive. He clearly was much more conservative than Bishop White, who was willing to redistribute the elements in a manner that would enhance the religious quality of the services. Nevertheless, their letters show the continuing play between liturgical and congregational emphases that has been significant in the history of the Anglican church.²²

For the east end of St. Paul's, then, Long may have changed the arrangement that parishioners were accustomed to, but the alterations were well within recent Anglican practices. The altar was visible to the congregation as it was raised on steps a short way back in the chancel. Between the center columns, the elevated semi-circular pulpit stood high on a triangular support, having six steps at the back and overhead a richly stuccoed domical canopy carried by brackets extending from the flanking columns. Closer to the congregation, the reading desk was raised on two steps. The chancel rail connected the two outer columns, then circled toward the nave, enclosing the pulpit and reading desk. By the railing at the head of the central aisle stood a white marble baptismal font on its black marble base.²³

In arranging the furniture Long undoubtedly was directed by Bishop Kemp. All our information on Long suggests he never left the environs of Baltimore. The letter of Bishop White indicates that he and Kemp understood the problem of the disposition of the furniture. Kemp's training and travels—he was born in Scotland—would have acquainted him with its history.

Many forces came together to bring about the new church building, and among the most important was the Rev. James Kemp. Low church elements strongly contested his election in 1814 as suffragan bishop, to assist the ailing Bishop Thomas Claggett, and his succession to the bishopric in 1816 on Claggett's death. The contest centered around the question of apostolic succession and the strength

of the bishop in controlling the affairs of the diocese of Maryland. Kemp's twelve-year episcopate witnessed an energetic and successful program to strengthen the diocese through large increases in the numbers of congregations, clergymen, and adherents. Of the twenty-one churches built and consecrated during his tenure, St. Paul's was one of the first. The second St. Paul's (1779) had remained unchanged except for the construction of the bell tower, despite Claggett's elevation to bishop in 1792. With Kemp as both rector and suffragan bishop, work on the new building had begun in 1814 and ceased in 1815. As Kemp succeeded Claggett as bishop in 1816, construction was taken up again and vigorously pursued to a conclusion.

Kemp and Long seized an unexpected opportunity to incorporate figural sculpture into the church program. The Italian sculptor Antonio Capellano arrived in Baltimore to carve the reliefs and figure on Maximilian Godefroy's Battle Monument. Before he could begin that work, however, the sculptor needed to earn money for the support of his family. In November 1816 he readily accepted Long's commission for the reliefs *Christ Breaking Bread* and *Moses Holding the Tables of the Law*. Both Kemp and his predecessor as rector often referred to Moses in their sermons as a prefiguration of Christ and a symbol of apostolic succession and episcopal leadership. Raised to the attic above the entrance, the reliefs were visual statements of both the establishment of ritual and the ancient authority and continuity of the Episcopal church. They complemented the more abstract, architectural suggestion of law and hierarchy implicit in the sequence of classical orders rising from the ground to the elevated dome topped by the cross. Undoubtedly it was Kemp who chose the subjects to help make the building a symbol of his belief in the central position of the episcopate.²⁴

If Christ Church in Philadelphia was Kemp's starting point for creating an appropriate episcopal setting, then clearly he wished to equal or even surpass it in support of his high church position. Long created for him a grandiose, longitudinal inner court surrounded by great columns, with a central aisle that made possible the ceremonial processions by which the rector reached the pulpit. Yet, despite his own questioning, Kemp subordinated the altar (which Bishop White called the "communion table") to the pulpit. Like the building, he grew out of the Age of Reason and maintained the tradition of preaching as rational discourse within the light-filled, high-keyed interior. And the light of reason continued to pervade the pleas for financial assistance issued over the next four decades.



Although the building was completed in 1817, the problem of paying for it was not. Long's original estimate of the cost was \$45,000, but the total came to \$126,440.55, exclusive of the organ, an amount far beyond the means of the congregation. As Colonel Howard had pointed out, members of the congregation were asked for contributions for special expenses or when the church experienced a particularly difficult financial situation. Ordinarily the church paid its way from

the pews, which were sold at first, then subject to annual rent. Offerings made at communion were generally destined for aid to the poor. Thus, when the church failed to raise enough in voluntary contributions for a special need, the vestry resorted to unusual measures. Several printed statements from the vestry survive as records of special appeals, usually containing an explanation that the debt originated in the cost of the building, rationalization of the need for upkeep of the properties, linkage of financial obligation with the family religious experience, and presentation of a plan for raising money in small amounts from each parishioner and family.

One of the first circulars appeared on 22 July 1819, after the church lost a suit instituted by the stonemason Thomas Towson who was awarded a judgment of over \$10,000. The vestry planned to borrow enough to pay the award, which would then be redeemed by special offerings, increased pew rental, and \$500 each year out of the salaries of the clergy. Owing to the depression that hit the country in 1819, these steps were proposed reluctantly. But the vestry considered that the threat of an even more fearsome alternative would convince the congregation of their necessity:

And when it is remembered that this Church was begun at a time, when the prosperity of our City surely authorized the erection of a Temple for the worship of Almighty God, of a high description; when it is also remembered that such a demand may not be again made for generations to come; and moreover that the Almighty may withdraw from us blessings of a far more substantial kind, if we refuse part of our substance to support his worship and to spread the comforts of his religion, no doubt can be entertained, but our members will cheerfully acquiesce in this plan.²⁵

By November about \$10,000 was raised. Despite the depression the loan had to be made at 6 percent, a relatively attractive rate of interest for lenders. Baltimore never really recovered in the 1820s and 1830s, and in 1831 the church made an arrangement to reduce the interest on the loan.²⁶

Although times were still bad, the church must have expected many new members from the rapidly growing population of the city, for on 20 June 1832 the vestry resolved to renovate the interior and make space for additional pews. Long and John Dushane, a carpenter, submitted drawings and a five-page statement of specifications for alterations of St. Paul's, largely interior work at the east end. The sacristy and vestry were to be reduced and the aisles lengthened to make room for five pews on each side; arched openings in the chancel wall would link the new pews to the repositioned altar. The chancel floor was to be raised six inches, the altar moved back, a new railing stretched across the shortened chancel, and two more windows opened in the wall. Piers were to replace the two central columns at the east end, to support the choir, while the chancel opening was to be partially closed by an arch (probably no higher than the floor of the organ gallery) and a diaphragm wall rising to the ceiling. Two circular windows were to be opened in the tower attic, with sash doors opposite all three windows to admit more light. A



St. Paul's on fire, 29 April 1854. (Courtesy Enoch Pratt Free Library. Reproduced by permission.)

number of smaller changes were detailed, including more windows for the organ and choir gallery. On 9 July the builder Samuel Boyd signed a contract to do the work for \$2,150.²⁷ A month later Boyd made a bid to raise the seven westernmost pews in each range in auditorium fashion. This work, including replacement of the pews, additional steps wherever necessary, and appropriate treatment around the bases of the columns, Boyd offered to do for \$350 plus the cost of labor.²⁸

The specifications provide further information on several changes and on some aspects not detailed in the builder's contract. The pulpit and reading desk, for example, were to be replaced by a double-decker. Columns, especially those in the eastern corners, were to receive new foundations and plinths where necessary, and cracks in the ceiling and entablature corners were to be repaired. The galleries, pews, columns, ceilings, walls, and all new work were to be painted white, except the handrail at the front of the chancel. Much concern for lighting appeared in the specification of sash doors and new windows. The raising of distant pews signified the church's continuing concern for visual and aural contact between the priest and the congregation. And it is worth noting that both specific and general recommendations required that changes and new work conform "in character with the Church"; for example, the new arch at the chancel opening was to be finished up to the ceiling "with Sunk pannells done in Stucco, and in conformity with the architecture of the church." Surviving bills and receipts indicate that the great part

of this alteration was accomplished. Inasmuch as later fund-raising efforts make no reference to this work, its cost must have been covered by voluntary contributions.

Now maintenance added to the financial burden. Extensive repairs had become necessary for preservation of church properties, including a metal roof for the building. A circular of 30 April 1839 made another appeal for funds, presenting the vestry's plan to double the pew rents for two years. These new funds were not applicable to the interior of St. Paul's. One individual had paid for "ornamental painting," and the sale of additional pews planned for the west gallery would cover the cost of their construction.²⁹

In a small brochure of 1844 the vestry addressed the congregation on the serious state of the church's finances. After a disquisition on the relationship between Christianity, the individual, and the country, they presented their plan for voluntary weekly contributions from each individual and family, ranging from one cent upwards, according to ability to pay. They answered two major arguments against this new appeal. First, pressing hard on the family-oriented experience of worship, they made clear that preservation of the building was not a question of charity: "It is your own property, which must be sustained and preserved from decay like any other property." To those who complained that too much money was spent on architectural beauty, they demonstrated the necessity to maintain the building "with suitable decorum and dignity." "No extraordinary expenditure is here made to enrich and adorn the Temple of that Holy Being who himself condescended to direct King Solomon that all the vessels pertaining to the House of the Lord, and to the Altar, should be of pure gold." A large part of the congregation had changed since construction began thirty years earlier. The defensive tone of the statement and its detailed justification for maintaining the structure suggest that many members were uneasy about pouring more money into the old building.³⁰

Still again, on 16 May 1849, the vestry resolved to address the congregation on the financial condition of the parish and a plan to liquidate the debt. They explained the history of the mounting debt, beginning with the cost of the building, continuing with repairs, and concluding with the interest on loans. With the present annual deficit at \$1,300 and the total debt \$28,000, they faced the prospect of selling the church edifice. Thus, "to avert an event so disastrous, and to preserve the temple in which we and our fathers have so long worshipped, and which is endeared to us by so many cherished associations, the Vestry deem it their duty to make another effort to cancel the debt of the parish." Raising additional money was to be based on a new principle, small weekly contributions similar to the Sunday collection that had recently been introduced. Pews were divided into three classes, and the sums ranged from twenty-five cents to one dollar. Regular application of the sums collected, the vestry calculated, would pay off the debt in eleven years. This effort apparently was successful.³¹

But nature took a hand in drastically altering circumstances. On 29 April 1854 the church burned in a spectacular night-time blaze of unknown origin. Stuccoed and painted wood was confined largely to the interior, but the floors, door and

window frames, pews, galleries, columns, entablatures, ceilings, and roofs, along with the portico attic, were enough to burn completely after four decades, even toppling the tower.



The building committee on 4 May 1854 issued a brief statement of its objectives in rebuilding the church, but guarding “against the contingency of another debt: the lessons of the past ought not to be lost sight of.” One of the first decisions, to rebuild on the same spot, was based on two considerations. They could not afford another location as central for the congregation in the heart of the expanding city where land values had increased. And the heavy brick walls of the old building withstood the fire, so that both materials and work, thus expense and time, would be saved by incorporating them in a new structure. The committee wished further to retain the general outlines and identity “of the venerable building in which the ancestors of so many of the present Congregation have worshipped,” and to seat each of the former pewholders in approximately the same position in the new church. The report then turned to appeal for funds.³²

After several architects were approached, the plans of Richard Upjohn were selected, but no documents concerning the choice or the building process have come to light. Construction was rapid, and the new building was dedicated on 10 January 1856. On this occasion Bishop William Whittingham, in a sermon fittingly entitled “Wealth Well Bestowed in Worship,” referred to biblical accounts of the use of costly materials in constructing sanctuaries. He recounted the destruction of the old building by fire and congratulated the rector and congregation on the success of their labors in raising the new one. He linked the old and the new, the successive generations, and physical and spiritual activities. The committee, too, in its final report evoked all the themes of familiarity, family, home, religion, and divine favor. They felt much satisfaction in seeing “the familiar faces of those with whom they were heretofore associated within its walls, vieing with each other, to occupy the same places, where in times gone by their ancestors have worshipped, and where in many instances they have stood side by side with friends and relatives who are now no more.” And they were most pleased to be able to announce that the new building, despite its cost of \$60,000, left the congregation free of “pecuniary embarrassment.”³³

Owing to the reuse of the exterior walls and the desire to retain much of the old seating plan, the new building preserves something of the Wren auditory tradition in its broad proportions and spaciousness. Yet on both exterior and interior, Upjohn's building differs fundamentally from Long's. Its Romanesque arcades, broad, open chancel and dominant altar, shadow-filled upper spaces and lack of galleries, dark and rich colors (including the stained glass windows added over the generations), and natural oak pews make the strongest contrast with Long's white, light-filled structure. The mid-century ecclesiological movement enforced changes in the form of services, as well, introducing an emphasis on the liturgical aspects

of worship and the mystery of religion. Long's church was built for eighteenth-century conceptions and practices, and it outlived its era.³⁴

NOTES

1. I am much indebted to F. Garner Ranney, historiographer of the Maryland Diocese, for his extensive aid in my use of the Maryland Diocesan Archives (hereafter Diocesan Archives), on deposit in the Maryland Historical Society. I owe thanks as well to the staff of the Maryland Historical Society for their generous and patient help. Robert Cary Long, Sr. (1760-1833), architect, and Bishop James Kemp (1764-1827), rector, together determined the form and appearance of St. Paul's.

2. William Howard (1793-1834), doctor, natural scientist, engineer, surveyor, and gentleman-architect, probably made his print (aquatint and drypoint) in 1816 before the facade and tower were completed, as the reliefs of Moses and Christ, commissioned in November 1816, are not shown on the tower attic. The first congregation of St. Paul's met at another place; Long's building was the third on the Charles Street site. The identification of the three church buildings appears in [John H. B. Latrobe] *A Picture of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1832), p. 134. The second church building and its tower appear also in the center of Francis Guy's 1803 painting "Large View of Baltimore from Chapel Hill" (Stiles Tuttle Colwill, *Francis Guy, 1760-1820* [Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1981], p. 49). The second structure continued in use until 13 October 1816.

Ethan Allen, "Historical Sketch of St. Paul's Parish in Baltimore County, Maryland" (1855), pp. 156-57, Ms. 13 (photostatic copy), MdHS. The Rev. Joseph G. J. Bend, rector of St. Paul's, wrote of the new steeple, bells, and clock, "Sorely do I regret, that our parish has had so much to do with them. We were out of debt, & had 1000\$ clear of the world, & now we are over head & ears in debt, & must have recourse to a lottery to extricate us from it" (Bend to Rev. Wm. Duke, Baltimore, 1 May 1805, Diocesan Archives; John S. Ezell, "The Church took a Chance," *MdHM*, 43 [1948]: 275). At this time lotteries were used frequently to raise money for many different purposes; in an undated request the rectors petitioned to hold a similar lottery to raise \$12,000 for their charity school ("Associated Rectors of St. Paul's Parish to Mayor and City Council of Baltimore," Baltimore Municipal Collection, Ms. 1992, MdHS). In this study transcriptions of documents follow guidelines set forth in the *MdHM*, 82 (1987): 241.

3. Howard to the President of the Vestry of St. Paul's Parish, Belvidere, 15 May 1805, Howard Papers, Box 7, Ms. 469, MdHS. Howard earlier donated land for the parsonage (1789-1791); see Howard E. Wooden, "The Rectory of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore: An Architectural History," *MdHM*, 57 (1962): 210-28; and Wilbur H. Hunter, "Baltimore in the Revolutionary Generation," in John B. Boles, ed., *Maryland Heritage* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1976), p. 214.

4. Beasley (1777-1845) was installed as associate rector on 31 December 1809, and his stirring sermon was printed by the vestry (Allen, "St. Paul's Parish," pp.

196-97); he soon moved to Philadelphia and served as provost of the University of Pennsylvania (1813-1828). A fourth-generation Baltimorean, Nicholas Rogers (1753-1822) was active also in civic affairs, serving as a judicial officer, member of city council, and committee man planning public buildings and ceremonies; see Edith R. Bevan, "Druid Hill, Country Seat of the Rogers and Buchanan Families," *MdHM*, 44 (1949): 190-99; Alexandra L. Levin, "Colonel Nicholas Rogers and His Country Seat, 'Druid Hill,'" *MdHM*, 72 (1977): 78-82; and Robert L. Alexander, "Nicholas Rogers, Gentleman-Architect of Baltimore," *MdHM*, 78 (1983): 85-105, pp. 91-94 for the temple design. The fullest account of Long and his work, with a wealth of information and sources, is in chap. 4 of Claire Wittler Eckels, "Baltimore's Earliest Architects, 1785-1820" (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1950), pp. 48-112; see also Richard Hubbard Howland and Eleanor Patterson Spencer, *The Architecture of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1953), pp. 54-59. The date of Long's birth follows on the statement that he was 63 years old on his death in 1833 ("Register," p. 485, Saint Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church Records, Box 2, Ms. 1727, MdHS).

5. For Kemp, see Nelson W. Rightmyer, "The Episcopate of Bishop Kemp of Maryland," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 28 (1959): 66-84. For the installation of the Reverend Dr. Kemp on 25 Nov. 1812, see Allen, "St. Paul's Parish," pp. 206-7; and Francis Beirne, *St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore* (Baltimore: St. Paul's Parish, 1967), pp. 61-64. For the Cathedral, see Talbot Hamlin, *Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 233-52 and pls. 18-20. This interpretation of the towers by Rogers and Long as an example of ecclesiastical rivalry is more fully developed in Alexander, "Nicholas Rogers," pp. 98-100. After construction of the church began, Long became a member of the church; see his confirmation certificate, dated 5 June 1814, signed by Bishop Thomas John Claggett and witnessed by Bishop James Kemp (William Tappan Collection, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.).

6. Robert L. Alexander, "The Union Bank, by Long after Soane," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 22 (1963): 135-38. Bryden B. Hyde, "Davidge Hall," *Bulletin, University of Maryland School of Medicine*, 56, 3 (July 1971): 1-8; and W. Boulton Kelly and Ella Whithorne, "A Baltimore Landmark with a Secret Past," *AIA Journal*, 67 (1978): 42-45. Rogers to Kemp, New York, 2 February 1814, Diocesan Archives. Rogers's observation that "the ground plan is not worth attending to" was not the attitude of a professional architect. In the covering letter with drawings for the proposed House of Industry (1818) in Baltimore, Robert Mills stated: "I have always considered the *Plan*, as the most important for consideration.... I have little doubt but I should be able to provide the elevations corresponding with your ideas of what may be suitable to the funds of the institution" (Robert L. Alexander, "The Young Professional in Philadelphia and Baltimore: 1808-20," in John M. Bryan, ed., *Robert Mills, Architect* [Washington: American Institute of Architects Press, 1989], p. 67).

7. In 1809 the vestry sold lots on Lexington Street, beginning at the northwest corner with St. Paul's Lane, to William McMechen, Luke Thomas, John Cromwell, James Mosher, and Robert Cary Long: Baltimore County Land Records WG 102:

324-25; WG 103: 50-52, 54-56, 303-05, 281-82, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis. In 1811 the vestry moved the alley at the back of these lots and the owners took the opportunity to purchase the additional land: *ibid.*, WG 116: 130-32, 462-64, 150-52, 564-66; WG 118: 96-98. The total cost for each whole lot was about \$2,700. In 1816 three more lots were sold at about \$5,000 each to William W. Taylor, Benjamin Hodges, and William Lorman: *ibid.*, WG 141: 62-64; WG 135: 611-13; WG 140: 343-45. They sold lots on the Charles Street side of the block to Thomas Hollingsworth (1813), Richard D. Mullikin (1815), and J. C. Wederstrandt (1816): *ibid.*, WG 123: 378-80; WG 133: 352-54; WG 135: 649-51. Parcels on St. Paul's Lane were sold in 1816 to the executors of Richard D. Mullikin, James Partridge, and Robert Caldcleugh: *ibid.*, WG 136: 464-67; WG 138: 187-89; WG 140: 419-22. In 1809 and 1816 the vestry also sold several lots on the south side of Lexington Street between St. Paul's Lane and Charles Street. Hodges and Taylor began construction of houses on their lots by July 1816: Hodges to the City Commissioner, RG 3, S 1, 1816/138, Baltimore City Archives (hereafter BCA); and Hodges and Taylor to the Mayor and City Council, RG 16, S 1, 1817/277, BCA. Long was known to the vestry by his purchases of 1809 and 1811. It is possible, thus, that his activity for the new building was considered as early as 1812. Thomas Poppleton, *Plan of the City of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1823).

8. Eckels, "Baltimore's Earliest Architects," pp. 85-86; Allen, "St. Paul's Parish," pp. 213-17. Kemp's address for the cornerstone ceremony was published ("Domestic Religious Intelligence," unknown source, Pamphlet Vol. 3, Diocesan Archives). Following Long's request, the city commissioners on 26 April 1814 established the southeast corner of Charles and Saratoga (then St. Paul's) Streets (RG 3, S 1, 1814/123, BCA). Long's advertisements for materials and men each appeared about ten times in the *Baltimore Federal Gazette*, 15-31 January and 26 January-9 February 1814. Some of the master craftsmen were J. Wilson, plasterer, Thomas Towson, stone cutter, and Elijah Hutton, bricklayer and builder (Thomas W. Griffiths, *The Annals of Baltimore* [Baltimore, 1824-29?], pp. 220-21). Although work on foundations occupied much of 1814, by the end of the year bricklaying began (*Baltimore American*, 12 March 1817). During September 1814 no carpentry was in process at the church, for Long led a group of thirty carpenters in strengthening the city's defenses (William D. Hoyt, Jr., "Civilian Defense in Baltimore, 1814-1815," *MdHM*, 39 [1944]: 211, and 40 [1945]: 20; and Barbara K. Weeks, "'This Present Time of Alarm': Baltimoreans Prepare for Invasion," *MdHM* 84 [1989]: 262-63). For completion of the tower in the summer of 1817, see n. 25 below.

The sale of pews occurred shortly before consecration of the church (*Baltimore American*, 1 March 1817), and on 8 March 1817 the vestry petitioned for exemption from the city tax on sales, which exemption was granted (City Council Records, RG 16, S 1, 1817/346, 555, and 1818/663, BCA). In an undated petition (probably 1819) the vestry requested the city to pay the bill for grading and paving in front of the church (RG 16, S 1, 1819/246, BCA).

9. For comparison with the side of St. Martin's in the Fields, see James Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture* (London, 1828; repr. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1968), pl. 7.

Long derived the form of his classical orders from James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens* (4 vols.; London, 1762-1816); he borrowed the first volume from 7 March to 29 April 1815, when he probably designed the exterior columns ("Librarian's Ledger," Baltimore Library Company, Box 16, Ms. 80, MdHS). For the growth of knowledge and the early employment of Greek orders, see Dora Wiebenson, *Sources of Greek Revival Architecture* (London: A. Zwemmer, 1960). Long also borrowed one or two volumes of Robert Adam, *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam* (3 vols.; London, 1778-1822) from 27 January to 23 March 1814, when construction of the church was getting under way ("Librarian's Ledger"); this work probably had more impact on the interior ornament than on the exterior. Long had already used unmolded arched windows over stone podia in his Union Bank (Alexander, "Union Bank," pp. 135-37).

10. On the tower, see Gibbs, *Book of Architecture*, pls. 29-31. Early views and descriptions of the third building include: Poppleton, *Plan of...Baltimore*, vignette; [Latrobe] *Picture of Baltimore*, pp. 133-34 and pl.; and Charles Varle, *A...Complete View of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1834), pp. 47-48 and pl., which shows that a wrought iron fence was in place by 1834. On the Weber view of ca. 1848, reproduced in Howland and Spencer, *Architecture of Baltimore*, titlepage, see Lois B. McCauley, *Maryland Historical Prints 1752-1889* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1975), V 31. Records from 1832 show that two oculi were opened (and glazed) at that time (see n. 27 below). The perspectival views and present-day measurements suggest some details on the arrangement of the tower and entrance; the base of the tower, about twenty-two feet square, extended from the portico attic to the inner vestibule wall, and the portico columns were about fourteen feet from the outer vestibule wall.

11. See Robert Mills's manuscript "A Pocket Memorandum Book, or Daily Journal, for the Year 1816," fols. 38, 45, 47, 63v, 69, and under dates 13 July, 24, 26 August, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17 September, and 18 December, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Mills (1781-1855), a student of Latrobe, spent six years (1815-1820) in Baltimore supervising the Washington Monument, and later in Washington he served as a major architect for the federal government. Showing the wide variety of his work as architect and engineer, the journal has been published in Pamela Scott, ed., *The Papers of Robert Mills* (microfilm; Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1990), doc. 4002. For Christ Church, Philadelphia, see Robert W. Shoemaker, "Christ Church, St. Peter's, and St. Paul's," in Luther P. Eisenhart, ed., *Historic Philadelphia* (1953; repr. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1980), pp. 187-98; and George B. Tatum, *Penn's Great Town* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961), pp. 28-30, 156, and pl. 11.

12. Mary Mitchell, *A Short History of St. John's Church, Georgetown, from 1796 to 1968* (Washington, D.C.: privately printed, 1968), pp. 1-3. The drawing is to be dated about 1838 when church renovation began (*ibid.*, p. 6). I am much indebted to Rev. Edward L. Lee for entry to the archives of the church and for permission to reproduce the drawing. For St. James's in Philadelphia, see Theo B. White et al., *Philadelphia Architecture in the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953), pp. 23-24, pl. 10.

13. "Diary 1834-36," p. 48, Thomas U. Walter Papers, Athenaeum, Philadelphia; I owe this reference to the generosity of Professor Dell Upton of the University of California at Berkeley. A student of William Strickland, Walter (1804-1887) was an active architect, best known for designing the wing extensions and dome for the U.S. Capitol. His observations on St. Paul's were made in 1835.

14. St. Michael's: Hugh Morrison, *Early American Architecture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), pp. 408-10. St. Paul's Chapel: *ibid.*, pp. 553-55. King's Chapel: *ibid.*, pp. 450-53, and Carl Bridenbaugh, *Peter Harrison, First American Architect* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949), pp. 54-63. Kemp's remarks: *Convention Journal of the Diocese of Maryland, 1817*, p. 12.

15. John M. Duncan, *Travels through Part of the United States and Canada in 1818 and 1819* (2 vols.; Glasgow, 1823), 2:242. According to G[eorge] W. O. Addleshaw and Frederick Etchells, *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship* (London: Faber and Faber, 1958), pp. 157-59, IHS in a glory on the reredos was not unusual in Anglican churches. For Walter's comment, see above, n. 13.

16. Our major source for the interior is a newspaper description in the *Baltimore American*, 12 March 1817, reprinted verbatim in an evening paper, the *Baltimore Federal Gazette*, 12 March 1817; that the long account of the interior—a column and a half—appeared in two newspapers indicates that the editors and their readership viewed the building as a major addition to the urban landscape. The *Federal Gazette*, in the same issue, reprinted a short account from the *Baltimore Telegraph*. The placement of close-set columns as a screen across the chancel was very rare, but this aspect of the newspaper account is confirmed by the guide book of 1832, which describes "a vaulted nave, separated from the aisles and chancel, by ranges of columns" ([Latrobe] *Picture of Baltimore*, p. 134). Some details appear in later sources (see nn. 27, 28 below). Other examples of interior giant orders include Peter Harrison's King's Chapel in Boston and Christ Church in Cambridge (Bridenbaugh, *Peter Harrison*, figs. 25, 40). The capitals of the Tower of the Winds order probably were based on the originals as illustrated by Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, 1, chap. 3, pl. 7. American versions were common; for example, Asher Benjamin, *The American Builder's Companion* (Boston, 1806; repr. of 1827 ed. New York: Dover Publications, 1969), pl. 22, 5.

17. Long probably employed the Delorme system for the barrel vault, for he had already used it in the sixty-foot dome of the Medical College (Douglas James Harnsberger, "In Delorme's Manner..." [M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1981], pp. 57-60). In the Delorme system for construction of wooden domes and vaults, short pieces of lumber and planks, laminated together, replaced heavy and expensive timbers, and the whole spanned large intervals without intermediate supports. Over the aisles and side galleries of St. Paul's were flat ceilings. A central aisle divided the nave and four ranges of pews. On either side, beyond the columns, were another aisle and a range of pews. In the west gallery were two ranges of pews and in the side galleries four ranges. Long introduced both circular and semi-circular windows into the Medical College (Kelly and Whithorne, "Baltimore Landmark," illus. pp. 42, 45). Thomas Hall of Philadelphia, a well known organ builder of the period, made the one at St. Paul's. A family legend, recorded by

Long's grandson, refers to the period of work on the organ gallery. One night Long dreamed three times that the church building was on fire. After the third time, he went to the site and found that a workman had left a lighted candle in the organ loft. It had burned down almost to the point of igniting the woodwork (T. Buckler Ghequiere, "The Messrs. Long, Architects," *The American Architect and Building News*, 1 [1876]: 207).

18. Long had one or two volumes of Adam's *Architecture* from 27 June to 12 October 1816 ("Librarians Ledger"); this must have been the period when he was designing interior ornament.

19. White to Kemp, [Philadelphia] 6 January 1814, Diocesan Archives. White (1748-1836), consecrated in 1787 as first American bishop, was a major figure in defining the nature and practices of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America. In Angelo Ames Benton, ed., *The Church Cyclopaedia* (New York: M. H. Mallory, ca. 1883), the functions of the lay clerk are defined as to "lead the responses and otherwise assist in the due conduct of divine services." Many clergymen, in addition, left musical matters in his hands according to Jane Edith Rasmussen, "Churchmen Concerned: Music in the Episcopal Church, 1804-1859" (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1983), pp. 37-38. Bishop White's opinion of musicians seems to have been exemplified by a later organist at St. Paul's, as reported by an English traveller, James Silk Buckingham, *The Eastern and Western States of America* (3 vols.; London, 1842), 1:110-11.

20. Comegys to Kemp, Philadelphia, 16 June 1814, Diocesan Archives. As vestryman Comegys had affirmed his belief in the Christian religion on 8 May 1810 and 11 May 1811 ("Test Book," Saint Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church Records, Box 8, Ms. 1727, MdHS).

21. The information in the following paragraphs is taken from the excellent history by Addleshaw and Etchells, *Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship*.

22. Zion Lutheran Church (1766-69) was designed and built by Robert Smith; its restoration (1794-1796) under William Colladay established the interior known from photographs, in meeting-house form with the liturgical furniture on the short axis (Tatum, *Penn's Great Town*, pp. 31-32, 157 and pl. 13). For assistance on questions concerning architecture in Philadelphia, I am much indebted to Jeff Cohen of the Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe project, American Philosophical Society.

23. A possible model for the triangular plinth "with incurved sides" supporting the pulpit is in Adam, *Architecture*, vol. 1, no. 4, pl. 8, lower left. Both pulpit and reading desk had an "antique form," but their appearance is conjectural. For the baptismal font, see Robert L. Alexander, *The Architecture of Maximilian Godefroy* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), pp. 29, 152n, and fig. III-22. The font survived the fire of 1854 and remains in the present church.

24. Ihna T. Frary, "The Sculptured Panels of Old St. Paul's Church, Baltimore," *MdHM*, 34 (1939): 64-66. The unpublished sermons of Kemp and his predecessor, the Rev. Joseph G. J. Bend, are in the Diocesan Archives. Those of Bend put special emphasis on more frequent celebration of communion and increased participation by parishioners. The reliefs survived the fire of 1854 and are in the upper facade

of the present St. Paul's. Of wood sheathed in metal (copper?), the cross at the top of the tower also survived and is at the Church Home and Hospital at 100 North Broadway. My thanks go to Frederick T. Wehr of the Church Home and Hospital, who provided both information and illustrations of the cross.

25. *To the Members of the Congregation of St. Paul's Church, in the City of Baltimore*, 22 July 1819, Diocesan Archives. The suit arose from Towson's work on St. Paul's; see Baltimore County Court [City Civil Docket] 1818 (MdHR 14274), p. 371, and 1819 (MdHR 14275), p. 118, Maryland State Archives; for invaluable assistance in locating these records, I am much indebted to Richard H. Richardson. See also the notes of Towson's attorney, Benjamin Chew Howard, "Thomas Towson vs. The Vestry of St. Paul's Parish," Howard Papers, box 4, Ms. 469, MdHS). Towson's total bill for stone and labor on the building came to \$38,668.65; he had received several intermittant payments, but on 22 December 1817, the church still owed him \$10,433.76 (including interest on the unpaid remainder). The suit for \$40,000 was instituted on 5 August 1817; following several postponements, on 6 May 1819 the jury found for the plaintiff, awarding Towson \$10,176.38, which the defendant agreed to pay in six months. From these records we know that construction of the tower came to completion in the summer of 1817. According to Towson's bill, his work continued through May 1817, and he did a small amount at the end of August. These notes contain much specific information; e.g., the marble Doric columns cost \$660 each, of which \$140 was for fluting and rubbing; the freestone panels under the windows cost \$60 each. Benjamin Chew Howard (1791-1872), a son of John Eager Howard, was admitted to the Maryland bar in 1816, served in the legislative bodies of the city, the state, and the country, and as reporter of the U.S. Supreme Court.

26. Two members of the vestry approached the merchant Robert Gilmor for a five-year loan of \$10,000 at 5 percent interest to be paid semi-annually; see Gilmor to B. C. Howard, Baltimore, 10, 12 February 1831, and Howard to Gilmor, 11 February 1831, Howard Papers, box 17, Ms. 469, MdHS. Gilmor and Howard were co-trustees of the minor children of Gilmor's deceased brother; they sought security as well as regular income when they invested funds of the children. On changing social and economic conditions in the city, see Gary Lawson Browne, *Baltimore in the Nation, 1789-1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

27. Long and Dushane to George Hoffman, Isaac McKim, and Nicholas Brice, committee of the Vestry of St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, 28 June 1832, St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church Papers (hereafter St. Paul's Papers), William R. Perkins Library, Duke University. This collection contains the resolution of the vestry, the building contract, bids, and several bills and receipts for the construction. The drawings have been lost. "Contract between S. Boyd and the committee of S Pauls Vestry for alterations and improvements in St Pauls Church founded on the plans submitted," 9 July 1832, St. Paul's Papers. Following these alterations the altar stood near the back wall of the shortened chancel and the new pulpit concealed much of it (see Edward Waylen, *Ecclesiastical Reminiscences of the United States* [New York, 1846], pp. 197-98).

28. Boyd to the Committee of St. Paul's Vestry, Baltimore, 13 August 1832, St. Paul's Papers.

29. Circular, 30 April 1839. The ornamental painting was described in Buckingham, *Eastern and Western States of America*, 2:110: "In the pulpit...was a painting of the Saviour on the Cross. From the hollow concavity of the dome covering the pulpit, was seen the descent of the Holy Ghost in the figure of a headless dove, with the rays of glory represented by gilding; and on the top of the dome was an elevated cross." The new pews comprised two ranges added in the west gallery.

30. *Address of the Vestry of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore, to the Members of the Congregation* (Baltimore, 1844), Diocesan Archives.

31. Circular; *To the Members of St. Paul's Church*, following meeting of the vestry on 16 May 1849, Diocesan Archives.

32. Circular following meeting of the congregation on 4 May 1854, St. Paul's Parish Papers, D. M. Perine Papers, box 3, Ms. 645, MdHS. Two undated pew plans in the later church, with members' names inserted, are in St. Paul's Papers.

33. The sermon is among the papers of Bishop William R. Whittingham, Diocesan Archives; the quotation is from p. 45. "To the Pewholders of St. Pauls Parish," Diocesan Archives; an endorsement by Whittingham states that this report of the building committee was read at the dedication. The vestry received \$20,000 from insurance on the old building, \$15,000 from voluntary subscriptions, and \$25,000 from the sale of pews to former pew-holders on 5-6 January 1856 and to the public on the 9th (see the vestry circular *To the former Pew-holders of St. Paul's Church* [ca. 1 January 1856], Diocesan Archives). For the present building see Everard M. Upjohn, *Richard Upjohn, Architect and Churchman* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), pp. 110, 198; and Phoebe B. Stanton, *The Gothic Revival & American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste, 1840-1856* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1968), pp. 305, 308-10. The bishop and other priests had been in touch with Upjohn for several years in connection with other churches in the diocese (see Upjohn to Whittingham, New York, 21 July, 2 August 1843, 22 January 1845, et al., Diocesan Archives).

34. Parts considered sufficiently strong and worked into the new design "included the side walls for about 25 ft in height and the east and front walls about 35 ft." (unpublished report, ca. 1856, Box 7, Richard Upjohn Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations). Today the arcaded front wall is easily distinguished despite the in-filling of the arches. On the north side the old wall and windows are partly obscured, but the south side wall (in Old St. Paul's Garden) has only a few minor accretions. Upjohn continued, noting some problems that constrained his design of the successor building: "The church was deficient in a chancel proper and not well proportioned on plan being nearly as wide as long, divided into middle and side aisles—the columns supporting the roof and galleries were planned in reference to the piers of the side windows and were only 10 ft. 6" from centres—too near together to obtain a good view from the aisle of the chancel." Aspects that made St. Paul's so responsive to the situation in Baltimore at the beginning of the century became liabilities at mid-century.



*Chart of the World, Showing the Track of the Ship Andalusia from Baltimore to San Francisco. Sailed April 18, 1849—Arrived Sept. 21, 1849 (c. 1849). Drawn by Douglas S. Hubbard, Pittsfield, Massachusetts. The artist notes via the solid line that the *Andalusia* reached the Azores in May, Cape Horn in July, Valparaiso in August, and San Francisco in September. The return voyage to Valparaiso in November and December appears in greater detail, each day's progress marked off clearly. (Mary Anne Stets Photo. Mystic Seaport Museum, Inc., Mystic, Connecticut.)*

Andalusia: Queen of the Baltimore Gold Rush Fleet

CHARLES R. SCHULTZ

In December 1848, in his State of the Union address, President James K. Polk confirmed the discovery of gold in California, thus giving credence to rumors that had spread throughout the eastern United States and touching off a gold fever that eventually pervaded the entire world. Newspapers and their readers quickly began to take seriously the letters and other reports that gradually drifted in from the West.

Thousands of men, mostly in their twenties, and a very few women began to make preparations to travel to California as soon as possible to bring their "golden dreams" to fruition.¹ A large percentage of those who went out in 1849 left home as members of joint stock companies and intended to engage in cooperative mining in which each member would receive an equal share of gold no matter how much or how little he actually produced. Some opted for the arduous overland trip westward from Missouri. Others chose to sail southward on the Atlantic to some point from which they could cross the southern United States, Mexico, Nicaragua, or Panama and proceed northward on the Pacific Ocean to California. The remainder decided upon the all-water route around dreaded Cape Horn to El Dorado.

During 1849 between fifteen and twenty sailing vessels departed from the port of Baltimore for San Francisco via Cape Horn. They ranged in size from the eighty-five ton pilot boat *Eclipse* to the eight hundred ton ship *Louis Philippe* and carried between five and over one hundred passengers as well as extensive cargoes of freight. Most of the freight seemingly went out as private business of Baltimore mercantile houses. Some of it went as property of passengers, and additional quantities went as the property of a handful of joint stock companies. Every single vessel that advertised to sail from Baltimore was described as being coppered and copper fastened, having exceptional accommodations for passengers, and an experienced captain, and being a fine and fast sailor. Most of them carried an A1 rating. Several advertisements mentioned an on-board physician who would see to the health of the passengers. Some of the Baltimore vessels made quick voyages, some average, and a few quite lengthy ones. Because of her size, the number of passengers she carried, the brevity of her voyage, and the overall quality of life of

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THE ORCHESTRA.

The Orchestra, a vignette of maritime music-making from the period. (*Harper's Weekly*, 7 August 1858.)

her passengers, the ship *Andalusia* richly deserves the title “Queen” of the Baltimore gold rush fleet.²



Baltimore had its first entrant into the “California Fleet” on 10 January 1849, when the new ship *Greyhound*, commanded by Capt. John Claypole, was towed to sea at noon by the steamer *Boston*. Despite the extremely cold weather, “a vast crowd of persons, including many ladies, was on the wharf, bidding adieu to the passengers, and with the ladies were some moist eyes, as they parted from sons and brothers.” The crowd gave the passengers three cheers as the vessel departed, and the passengers responded with three cheers of their own. Capt. John Jackson of the bark *W. H. D. C. Wright* also fired a salute as the *Greyhound* departed.³

One day after the departure of the *Greyhound*, the bark *Paoli* and the small schooner rigged pilot boat *Eclipse* started their voyages to San Francisco. According to one report the *Paoli* carried fourteen passengers and the *Eclipse* none, while another report gave the figures as five and eight. Because of her small size of eighty-five tons, her shallow draft of eight feet, and her sharp lines, wagers were made that the *Eclipse* would make the shortest passage to San Francisco of any vessel from Baltimore. Despite having to put in at Hampton Roads to be recaulked, she did have a good run to Rio de Janeiro and a successful voyage to California as did the *Paoli*.⁴

The ship *Jane Parker* was scheduled to sail on 24 January with eighty passengers and a full cargo consisting of “every variety of articles supposed to be suitable” for the California market, as well as fifty tons of coal, all of which was listed on a fifteen foot manifest. Although the normal vast crowd including many ladies assembled well before the scheduled 10:00 A.M. departure time, the band of the Independent Blues played “several spirity-stirring airs,” and an artillery piece was all set to fire a parting salute, the ship did not leave, and neither Capt. C. Jordan nor the shipper could be found. When it was announced at 4:00 P.M. that there was some business to settle and the ship would sail the next day, the crowd dispersed and the passengers resigned themselves to spending another night in Baltimore. On the 25th at 10:00 A.M. the tow boat *Relief* came alongside the *Jane Parker* to take her to sea. As she slowly moved from the wharf, the “thousands of persons—men, women and children” who had flocked there to witness the departure cheered again and again. Each cheer was answered by those on board. The passengers fired volleys of muskets and pistols which were answered by an artillery cannon on an adjacent wharf. The *Relief* also took the bark *Maria Theresa*, loaded with freight but no passengers, in the same tow.⁵ After a fairly routine voyage around Cape Horn with stops in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and Callao, Peru for fresh water and provisions, the *Jane Parker* arrived in San Francisco on 27 July 1849.⁶

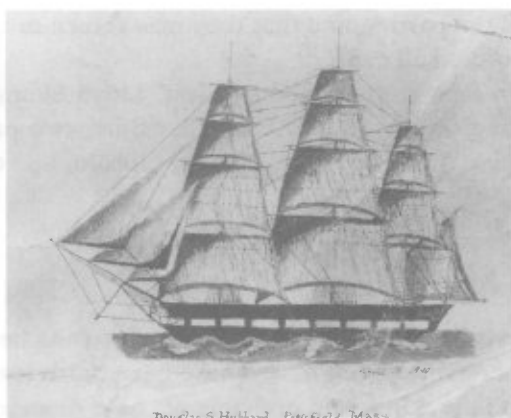


San Francisco from Rincom Point, daguerreotype by William Shew, c. 1852. (Courtesy National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution.)

Early February departures from Baltimore included the bark *Hebe* and ship *Xylon* on the 3rd and the bark *John Potter* on the 5th. The *John Potter*, under the command of Capt. J.W. Watts, had a quiet departure from Chase's Wharf and seemingly had a routine but quite lengthy passage to San Francisco of 237 days. She carried twelve or thirteen passengers.⁷ The voyages of the *Hebe* and the *Xylon* were considerably more exciting than were those of most other vessels of the gold rush fleet, although they were exciting for different reasons. The *Hebe* under Capt. John Stetson left from Gibson's Wharf with eight passengers shortly before noon.⁸ The *Xylon* left from Waters' Wharf at about the same time under the command of Capt. John A. Brown with between 130 and 150 passengers. A large crowd was on hand to witness this departure, which was probably the largest group to leave Baltimore for California.⁹ After this mutual departure, the reasons behind the excitement are quite different.

The *Hebe* had an uneventful passage to Rio de Janeiro. While in that Brazilian port, Capt. John Stetson seems to have struck an agreement with Captain Halsey of the schooner *J. B. Gager* of New York to pass through the Straits of Magellan rather than sail all the way around Cape Horn. The two vessels left Rio de Janeiro on 6 April and sailed in company until they entered the Straits on the 30th along with the schooner *John Allyn* of New Bedford, Massachusetts. Captain Stetson granted permission to first mate John Graham, three seamen, and some of the passengers to go ashore during a calm to shoot birds. When the wind freshened, Captain Stetson hoisted the signal for the boat to return. Increasing winds caused the *Hebe* to drag her anchors and forced the boat to miss the bark as night fell. The *Hebe* put to sea in order to keep from blowing ashore as did the other two vessels. The next morning they were unable to find the boat and its passengers and assumed they had been blown to sea and become lost. As a result, the other vessels sailed away. In fact, the sailors and passengers in the boat had landed safely and were picked up by the schooner *James R. Whiting* of New York and carried safely to California.¹⁰

The passage of the ship *Xylon* to Rio de Janeiro proved anything but routine. The trip began with everyone in high spirits and having a very favorable opinion of Capt. John A. Brown and their fellow passengers. One passenger sent home a letter after three or four days in which he referred to their "exceedingly agreeable company on board" and to Captain Brown as "an officer who is every thing a commander should be."¹¹ The next news from the *Xylon* was very different, however. In this report there was information that the passengers had been put on short allowance of water and that "instead of the luxuries and high living" they had anticipated, they were given "hard biscuit and still *harder* tea for breakfast, codfish and potatoes for dinner, and the breakfast fare reversed for supper." In addition, a passenger named Charles Pratt had been put in irons and beaten by Captain Brown.¹² When the *Xylon* arrived at Rio de Janeiro, Charles Pratt drafted a list of complaints against Captain Brown. Among the charges were serving spoiled, unwholesome, and poorly cooked food; keeping the hatches closed when it rained, causing the cabin between decks to become unbearably hot; failing to



Detail from Hubbard's *Chart of the World*, depicting the ship as she left port in April, 1849. (Mary Anne Stets Photo. Mystic Seaport Museum, Inc., Mystic, Connecticut.)

provide chloride of lime to purify the cabin; placing passengers on a water ration when there was plenty of water on board; selling liquor to some passengers; and extreme brutality. Many other passengers signed the document, which was then carried to Gorham Parks, the United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro. Some of the crew members also complained of brutal treatment by Captain Brown and first mate Hauley. Consul Parks conducted a full investigation during which he took numerous depositions and finally concluded that the only solution was to remove Brown from the command of the *Xylon*. This decision was supported by Minister David Tod. Parks then appointed Jonathan Bowers of New Bedford to take command of the *Xylon* and sail her to San Francisco. Bowers chose not to continue first mate Hauley in his post. Brown and Hauley returned to New York after Brown had properly protested Parks's action.¹³ Bowers took the *Xylon* on a peaceful voyage to San Francisco.¹⁴ In that port Bowers was replaced by Captain McCondra, who had been sent from New York via the Isthmian route by the owners of the *Xylon*.¹⁵

Nearly three weeks passed before any other vessels left Baltimore for San Francisco, but on 25 February three of them sailed, carrying almost a hundred passengers. The brig *R.W. Brown*, commanded by Captain Speed, and the bark *Kirkland*, commanded by Capt. William Philips, were towed away from the wharves at 11:00 A.M. by the steamer *Relief* while the hundreds of assembled relatives, friends, and other well wishers cheered for the departing adventurers. The *R. W. Brown* had fifteen passengers on board while the *Kirkland* carried sixty-two. Capt. Thomas Brotherton commanded the schooner *Ferdinand*, which was towed away from her wharf by the steamer *Pocahontas*. There appears to have been a joint stock company composed of passengers, officers, and crew members on board the *Ferdinand*, a total of thirty-seven people sailed. In reporting the departure of these three vessels, the editor of the *Baltimore Sun* noted, "We can only wish the most

entire success to all the parties, and that they may return to their homes with an abundance of the 'root of all evil.'"¹⁶

Only the brig *Arabian*, commanded by Capt. Lloyd Slemmer, left Baltimore during March, sailing on the 16th. Among her thirty-two passengers were two women, Mrs. Thomas White and Mrs. William Lincoln, and two girls, Susannah and Laura Lincoln.



Had the pre-departure experiences of the ship *Andalusia* been a true reflection of things to follow, her voyage might well have been much less interesting than it turned out to be, and the ship would probably not have deserved the title "Queen" of the Baltimore gold rush fleet. As early as 14 February 1849 the Baltimore *Sun* carried an advertisement of Henry Mankin for the *Andalusia*. She was reported to be a nearly new coppered and copper-fastened vessel, "a fast sailer, and in every respect a vessel of the first class." Her between decks, where most of the passengers would reside, were reported to be thoroughly ventilated and spacious, having dimensions of 8 feet high, 33 feet wide, and 150 feet long. Capt. Francis W. Willson, to command the *Andalusia*, was reportedly an experienced master and familiar with the Pacific Trade.¹⁷

Andalusia's first scheduled departure was 24 March, but that day passed, and the ship remained at Ramsey's Wharf.¹⁸ By the middle of March it appears to have been evident to Mankin that the scheduled departure date was impractical, so he changed the ad by eliminating the date.¹⁹ The next scheduled departure for the *Andalusia* was 17 April, but once again she was delayed. This time the cause was cold weather and a strong northwest wind that lowered the water level in the harbor so much that the vessel was aground at the wharf. The storm was a major spring disaster; it affected shipping on all of the East Coast. Weather in Baltimore dropped from a balmy 67 degrees on 13 April to 32 degrees or lower on the following morning and remained in the low 30s with rain, snow, and high northwest wind throughout most of the week.²⁰ Fortune smiled upon the "Queen" on 18 April, however, as the wind temporarily changed to the southeast and provided ample water for the *Andalusia* to sail.

At about 9:00 A.M. on 18 April the steamer *Relief* fastened onto the *Andalusia* and towed her to the vicinity of Fort McHenry, where she remained at anchor while the *Relief* returned to the wharf for some of the one hundred passengers. Around 10:30 the *Andalusia* set sail "amid cheers, mingled with tears and regrets of those who were parted, perhaps forever." Among the hundreds of persons on the wharf were numerous friends of the Reverend William Taylor, who had been appointed a missionary to California by the Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. These friends carried a banner proclaiming "peace on earth and good will to men." Taylor was accompanied by his pregnant wife and their two small children, Mrs. A. J. Reed, and Miss Virginia Kimberline. While Baltimoreans constituted the largest group of passengers, there were people from other towns and counties in

largest group of passengers, there were people from other towns and counties in Maryland; from Columbia, Lancaster, and York, Pennsylvania; and from the states of Kentucky, Louisiana, Ohio, and Virginia. Those from York, Pennsylvania, and those from Kentucky appear to have been members of organized companies. One group from Maryland went out organized as the "Maryland Enterprize and Mining Company."²¹

In addition to her impressive and varied list of passengers, the *Andalusia* carried a large and diverse cargo that was valued at \$39,000. One quite interesting item was the framework and all the other necessary materials for a chapel to be erected in California for the Reverend William Taylor.²² Other cargo included lumber for "extensive" hotels for the Kentucky company and one from Ellicott's Mills, Maryland; several houses for the company from York, Pennsylvania, as well as for a company of seven from Baltimore; and a steam saw and grist mill, dredging machine, pile driver, suction engine, ten carts and wagons, five boats, farming utensils, a house, provisions for two years, and merchandise carried for the "Baltimore & Frederick Mining and Trading Company," which sailed for Panama on 23 April in the schooner *Creole* intending to take the Isthmian route and to arrive in San Francisco ahead of the *Andalusia*. The *Andalusia* also carried 20,000 feet of miscellaneous lumber and 45,000 bricks as well as all the provisions needed for her one hundred passengers and twenty-five member crew plus the passengers' personal effects.²³

In spite of all the people and cargo, the *Sun* could still report that every passenger had a "comfortable" stateroom or a berth "with an abundance of room for exercise." "There is no lumbering up of decks," the *Sun* reported, "but all appears to have been prepared with an eye to the comfort of the passengers.... If there is anything inviting in the accompaniments of a six month's voyage, this ship certainly presents it." The paper declared accommodations aboard the *Andalusia* superior to those of any other vessel that had sailed from Baltimore with California emigrants.²⁴

As the *Andalusia* entered the open waters of the Atlantic and encountered the rough water caused by the recent storm, many passengers fell victim to seasickness. Most of them appear to have recovered by 24 April, when the passengers held a meeting and adopted rules for their government. Under the provisions of these rules, a captain or supervisor was appointed to preside over each of the four tables at which the passengers would eat and "to maintain order & see that morality and cleanliness are rigidly observed."²⁵ From the general tenor of Anne Willson Booth's diary throughout the voyage, these rules must have worked out well, for she—the captain's niece—never mentioned them again and only rarely did she mention any problems which might indicate lack of order, morality, or cleanliness.

On most nineteenth-century American sailing vessels, Sunday was supposed to be a day of rest and relaxation for everyone, but it frequently was a regular work day. The nature of the passengers on most gold rush ships, however, brought about drastic changes from this norm. Even though the *Andalusia* and her passengers were unusual in many ways, they were normal for gold rush ships in that they had regular worship services on board on most Sundays. On 21 April, the first Sunday

members donned "their best rigging" and Reverend Taylor went among the passengers to offer them Bibles to read. Most already had Bibles, often given them by their mothers before their departure for the unknown world of California. Captain Willson erected a temporary pulpit on deck in front of the cabin entrance, and at 10:00 A.M. worship services were started. Taylor preached on Romans 5:8 and "was listened to very attentively by all on board." The passengers all joined in singing hymns.²⁶

On the following Sundays, passengers and crew again donned their best clothes and made ready for church. The decks were cleaned, lumber was brought up from below and laid across half barrels before being covered with canvas to be used as seats by the worshipers, and the temporary pulpit was set up. Taylor preached his usual sermons at 10:00 A.M., and the passengers sang hymns. On 6 May they began to have a second worship service in the afternoon. In addition Booth noted that they had singing and prayer every morning and evening in the cabin.²⁷

Booth noted on 3 June that she had never seen a more beautiful Sabbath morning and that the ship and all on board matched the beauty of the day. The crew had had a busy week working on the rigging and sails to prepare for Cape Horn, but on this Sunday they all rested. All normal preparations were made for the service to begin at 10:00 A.M. During the service some vessels appeared on the horizon to distract a number of the worshipers. Taylor chastised them for their lack of attention, but they continued to ignore him and rushed to the rail to get a better view of the fishing vessels as soon as Taylor concluded his sermon.²⁸ This incident was only the beginning of a feeling of discontent between the passengers and Taylor.

Over the next five weeks no regular services were held on board the *Andalusia*. The weather seems to have been one factor as the ship approached and rounded Cape Horn.²⁹ On 17 June Taylor delivered a brief address in the afternoon but had to cut it short as the storm came on again. Taylor's wife, who was one of the occupants of the cabin on deck, was ill during this part of the voyage. As a result, Taylor was disinclined to hold services in the cabin. On 8 July Booth mentioned someone had suggested having services below deck in the steerage area but suspected Taylor did not follow through on that because "he was afraid of having an unruly audience." A week later they had service on deck in the morning, and Booth noted the "congregation was thin but attentive."³⁰

As in the original plan and advertisement, Capt. Willson, after negotiating Cape Horn, took the *Andalusia* into Valparaiso for fresh water and provisions. While there he agreed to take a few additional passengers, one of whom contributed to the deterioration of the relationship between the passengers and Taylor while at the same time causing the clergyman, at least in Booth's opinion, to change some of his attitudes and perhaps to become a better person. This one new passenger was the Reverend Mr. Kellon, whom Booth described as a "regular Yankee" from New Hampshire. Elsewhere she described him as having "a very pleasing voice, winning manners and quite a prepossessing appearance...united to an easy, natural

eloquence." She also noted he was "a fine bass singer" who had "a perfect knowledge of music."³¹

On 3 August, only three days out of Valparaiso, the *Andalusia* lost her main and mizzen topmasts in a storm. Captain Willson thought of going to Callao for repairs but decided that he, his crew, and the passengers could make the repairs at sea. When it was decided to continue such work on Sunday 5 August and even Kellon agreed to participate in the work detail, Taylor was horrified and "undertook to remonstrate with the Capt. upon the exceeding impropriety of thus desecrating the Lord's day," but Booth surmised that "he will scarcely have the temerity to expose himself again to the withering rebuke he then received." She thought that Taylor was "perfectly sincere" and would "practice what he preaches to others, but his fastidiousness never was more out of place than on the present occasion when common sense suggests the necessity of yielding to the emergency of the case." Taylor kept his whole family in the cabin all day for fear that "their presence on deck might lend a sanction to the day's proceedings."³²

On 11 August Booth wrote that a meeting was held on deck to invite Reverend Kellon to preach the next day, an invitation he immediately accepted. While she did not so indicate it, this action must have been a severe blow to Taylor. Booth's comparison of the two reveals why Kellon had become so popular so soon. First of all, Kellon assisted in repairing damages to the ship and even worked on Sunday. Kellon frequently visited the passengers below deck, conversed with them at length, and took a genuine interest in their activities. In contrast to this, Booth noted that there were many passengers on board with whom Taylor had not exchanged a single word in nearly four months. She also noted that Kellon possessed "the tact of administering reproof in such a manner that while the feelings are not outraged the conscience is aroused by the tones of truth and correctness" while Taylor's "rebukes are sullenly regarded and sometimes cause much indignation." Kellon could "say much more with perfect impunity" and was "always listened to with attention and respect by all."³³

Thus, it was hardly a surprise that as preparations were made for the church service on 12 August, "there was a rush made for seats" as soon as the bell was rung. The number attending was considerably larger than on previous weeks, and those who attended paid very close attention to what Kellon had to say. At the conclusion of the service, Taylor announced there would be hymn singing in the afternoon. Booth felt that everyone enjoyed the two hours of singing.

On the three following Sundays Taylor and Kellon took turns delivering the sermons. Perhaps because of the competition, Taylor's sermon of 19 August appears to have been different from his earlier ones. Booth thought it was "the happiest effort" Taylor had made. On 2 September his sermon "was of a very mournful character...interspersed with different accounts of death bed scenes." Kellon's sermons, on the other hand, were more lighthearted discourses delivered in "an off hand style."³⁴ The 2 September worship service was the last one held on board the *Andalusia*.



Dressing Under Difficulties, a contemporary image of a passenger's cabin on a ship like the *Andalusia* as she encountered rough seas. (*Harper's Weekly*, 15 April 1871.)



Within a few days of leaving Baltimore, the passengers on the *Andalusia* had settled down to a regular routine that was altered somewhat as they progressed on their voyage through the various seasons. Booth and her fellow cabin passengers arose about six, walked around deck until the bell was rung for prayers at eight, and ate their breakfast. The ladies then read, sewed, or wrote until dinner at one. They had tea at four and then sat on deck to watch the sunset. The passengers below deck presumably followed a similar schedule even if they did not engage in the same activities. As long as they were in temperate climates, the men all wore shirts and pants but no vests, coats, suspenders, or shoes. None wore a decent hat. According to Booth they all smoked cigars or pipes, some of which were three feet long. Most of them had grown beards or mustaches, or both. When they entered the colder climates near Cape Horn they spent little time on deck because of the wind, rain, snow, hail, and low temperatures. The days were short; daylight was from eight to four. They spent nearly all of the time inside, huddled around the stove or in bed trying to keep warm. The women continued their reading, sewing, writing, and talking. Booth did note, however, that nearly every evening the ladies were provided a special treat such as preserved cherries, while the men in the cabin

discussed "their wine" and talked "about the good things at Home that are all lost to us."³⁵ Such was the life of the cabin passengers in the "Queen" of the Baltimore gold rush fleet. From what little Booth says about the life of the other passengers one can conclude that they did not fare as well. Captain Willson also kept the sailors on a regular routine, having them scrub the decks thoroughly every morning and sweep them twice a day. The decks, Booth noted, were "clean enough to eat off," and the "perfect order and neatness observed on board our ship might put many a housekeeper to blush."³⁶

The quality and quantity of food served the passengers was a major problem on some vessels and a minor irritation on others, but on board the *Andalusia* food does not appear to have been a problem. In a number of cases, owners or agents published bills of fare for the voyage and in a few cases passengers recorded the regular weekly menus in diaries. No such record has been located for the *Andalusia*, but Anne Booth shed some light on the quality and quantity of the food they were served.

For much of the voyage, one or more hogs were slaughtered every Saturday. The heads were used in mock turtle soup, and fried pork steaks and liver appeared at breakfast. Other cuts of meat were roasted. Passengers received potatoes regularly as long as they lasted, then rice, of which there was an abundant quantity. Bread was baked daily, and fresh rolls were provided at breakfast. During the first part of the voyage the passengers below deck had sauerkraut twice a week. Occasionally those in the cabin were given some, which Booth liked very much. For the first month the cabin passengers had fresh goat's milk for their coffee and tea, but the goat died and they had to forego this delicacy. Booth mentioned occasional delicacies such as plum pudding, rice pudding with raisins, taffy, raisin bread, fish chowder, puffs, beets, carrots, and parsnips. During the brief visit in Valparaiso in late July they picked up fresh provisions—Booth mentioned fruits (apples, oranges, and grapes), nuts, meat, and "plenty of pumpkins." For the next six weeks they had pumpkin every day either baked or boiled. While many passengers liked the pumpkins and thought them very similar to the traditional southern staple—sweet potato—Booth preferred rice and molasses to pumpkin and would eat the latter only as pumpkin pie. A few days before their arrival in San Francisco, Booth noted their provisions were "rather monotonous. We have pork and beans one day and beans and pork the next."³⁷

Three days after rounding Cape Horn, Booth described in considerable detail a sumptuous Sunday feast served in the cabin and also hinted strongly that the cabin passengers ate considerably better than did those residing between decks. On 8 July the cabin passengers and probably the ship's officers had a first course of beef soup, which Booth said tasted "as fresh as if the meat had come from the butcher's stall this morning" even though she knew it was canned beef Captain Willson had purchased in Liverpool during a previous voyage. Although they no longer had any potatoes to put in the soup, they did have carrots, barley, rice, and vermicelli, and "Old Jake," the steward, made some "very nice dumplings." The second course consisted of "an elegant ham," boiled chicken, some of the fresh canned beef stewed



Plum Duff in Danger—Christmas Dinner at Sea, drawn by M. J. Burns. A sailor's fare was considerably meaner than the cabin passenger's. Meals usually consisted of four staples—salt meat, hard bread, rice, and beans—supplemented no more than twice a week by a duff, a boiled flour pudding sometimes made with raisins. (*Harper's Weekly*, 22 December 1883.)

with onions, "plenty of hominy," rice, green peas (which had also been purchased in Liverpool), plus "several kinds of elegant pickles." For desert they had cranberry tarts. Booth noted that the only thing that kept her from really enjoying this sumptuous feast was the knowledge "that we do not all fare alike." She indicated she would willingly relinquish half of what the cabin passengers had if she were sure that that half would be given to the other passengers, for she was aware that there were many "real gentlemen" among them who were "accustomed to the best style of living." On the other hand she was certain that many of the other passengers were fed as well as if they were at home. Some of the passengers below decks had apparently brought personal supplies along and paid "Old Jake" to prepare special meals for them. Booth noted one gentleman reported his trip would cost him "at least an extra hundred dollars" as the steward "charges exorbitantly...for every little favour."³⁸

The quality of life on board the *Andalusia* was tolerable, perhaps typical. One of the first and most commented upon problems was the weather. In the latitudes of the equator, the heat was frequently oppressive, compounded by the absence of a breeze, so the ship sat almost still in the water. The area between decks became so hot that the passengers slept on deck except when infrequent rain showers forced them below. Soon after passing through these latitudes, however, the *Andalusia*

entered the regions of stormy Cape Horn, and passengers experienced rain, hail, snow, high waves and low temperatures. Keeping warm and dry presented a great challenge, even when Captain Willson permitted the passengers to have a stove in the cabin. It is uncertain if the passengers between decks had that luxury. Eating was also an ordeal. Booth noted that they had a rack on the table to hold their dishes in place, but this did not really solve the problem. On one occasion she noted that, as she was on the leeward side of the table, she was drenched by the coffee and tea. On another she mentioned that "those who undertook the soup put the greater quantity of it on their clothes." All of this did not really matter, she wrote, because "at sea one's personal appearance is not much regarded." Sleeping in such weather meant staying in a narrow berth while the vessel pitched and rolled. Weather also affected the passengers' morale. Slow progress in the vicinity of the equator and constantly adverse winds made everyone grumpy and grouchy, but a change to a favorable wind operated "like magic upon the spirits of our passengers." Everyone quickly became cheerful and happy and eagerly looked forward to their arrival at San Francisco.³⁹

Other minor problems included homesickness, loneliness, and personal illness. Both of the Booths became ill during the voyage, she with a cold and pleurisy and he with a severe cold. Both were ably treated by Dr. Buckner of Kentucky, the ship's physician. Very early in the voyage Booth reported \$800 was stolen from the trunk of one passenger. Although one unnamed passenger was suspected of the misdeed, no proof of guilt was ever produced, and the money was not recovered. A month later Booth reported a fight between two men who had been drinking. Captain Willson quickly put an end to the fight "and then fastened them up." Near the end of the voyage she noted the presence of many rats in the ship. While most of them were between decks, they had encountered some in the cabin. Booth noted that several passengers had been bitten by the rats and added, "these can write feelingly on the subject." Because of the many people aboard, Captain Willson was reluctant to poison the rats.⁴⁰

Quite early in the voyage of the *Andalusia* Booth mentioned that the passengers appeared bored and "very much at a loss for something to do to pass away the time." On several other occasions, especially when in the relatively calm latitudes, she mentioned this boredom, adding on one occasion that when they were sailing along at a good pace it was interesting to watch the water and the waves as they were broken by the bow and to speculate on the distance sailed, but when it was calm "we have nothing of this."⁴¹ In spite of these references to boredom, there was quite frequently a variety of amusement or entertainment for the passengers. On the fourth day at sea, Captain Willson provided the passengers with a list of the books Henry Mankin had placed on board for the passengers to read. Several passengers also had brought their own books. On numerous occasions throughout the voyage Booth mentioned passengers amusing themselves by reading, but unfortunately, except for the Bible, she never gave the names of any of the books she and other passengers read.⁴² One passenger offered to teach a class in Spanish provided he could get enough pupils and could use the cabin on deck for a

classroom. Not enough pupils could be found; nevertheless several of them began to study the language on their own and could soon carry on short conversations in Spanish. These studies were discontinued during the Cape Horn portion of the voyage, but after Reverend Kellon joined the passengers in Valparaiso he provided the impetus to resume the study of Spanish.⁴³

Other common forms of amusement and entertainment included playing cards, backgammon, chess, and other similar games. Some passengers whittled, while others simply lounged on deck and watched their fellow emigrants. Keeping diaries or journals appears to have been very popular on board the *Andalusia*, even though only one seems to have survived. Writing long letters to be mailed home to loved ones was very popular as they neared a port or whenever they sighted a vessel on which the passengers thought they might send a package of letters. Physical exercise such as walking and marching on deck or engaging in a contest to see who could jump the highest over a rope stretched between two stationary objects was popular among some passengers (though the latter occasionally resulted in nasty falls on deck). Listening to the band play or the chorus sing and dancing on deck were also popular when the weather was suitable for such activity. On the few occasions when they saw other vessels, speaking or exchanging signals was very interesting as the passengers could sometimes obtain fresh news. As the vessels parted company, the passengers in the *Andalusia* always exchanged cheers with those on board the other vessel. In the colder regions around Cape Horn, where large numbers of birds are always around, passengers watched them, fed them, and caught them with fishing lines baited with pieces of pork.⁴⁴

Conducting mock trials was an occasional form of entertainment on California bound ships, and the passengers in the *Andalusia* seem to have had one quite early in the voyage. Booth noted that they had enacted a court scene, which they found amusing. One of the passengers allegedly bit a fellow passenger and was charged with cannibalism. In spite of vehement pleas by the defense attorney, the culprit was found guilty and sentenced to receive a number of lashes. The sentence does not appear to have been carried out.⁴⁵

The vicinity of the equator was often the scene of two forms of entertainment—playing practical jokes and catching sharks—and those on board the *Andalusia* engaged in both. Some of the more knowledgeable men told one of the very green and very gullible passengers they were getting ready to hang their clothes on “the line” and convinced him to wait on the forecandle to get a glimpse of it. They cautioned him, however, to keep a careful watch and to dip his head down lest the line catch him and knock him overboard. One afternoon sharks were spotted, and lines were quickly baited and thrown overboard. Passengers apparently had several bites but succeeded in landing only one shark. After maiming and tormenting the shark on deck for a while they skinned him and cut him up to be cooked for supper. Some parts were fried and other parts made into a spicy stew. Booth ultimately overcame her aversion to the thought of tasting shark and put a piece in her mouth. She “was very agreeably surprised at its rather pleasant taste.”⁴⁶

An unusual event on 21 June provided the passengers with a rare opportunity for discussion and speculation. The Reverend Taylor's wife gave birth to a daughter at about 6:00 A.M. For several days there were many discussions and suggestions as to what her name should be. Booth thought it should be Andalusia for the ship, or Atlanta, but surmised Mrs. Taylor would name the girl for a friend or relative in Baltimore. Other passengers felt she should be named Oceana for having been born at sea. A month after the birth, Booth noted the name was to be Corriente Willson Taylor. She added that Corriente was Spanish for current and was also the name of a cape near the river La Platte where the girl was born. Willson was to honor the captain of the *Andalusia*.⁴⁷

A number of the California fleet bound around Cape Horn issued newspapers, most of which were to appear on a weekly basis. Some appeared only once or twice and some as many as ten times. Many were started early in the voyage with a promise of being continued throughout it, but none ever survived that long. Rather late in the voyage, the passengers in the *Andalusia* decided to issue a daily paper which they called the "Andalusia Gazette." At the meeting during which this decision was made, six gentlemen were appointed editors and were granted power to reject any article they deemed improper. Booth thought this was a prudent move to keep the paper from being filled with satire and malice. All politics and personal comments were prohibited, and the ladies on board were specifically invited to contribute either prose or poetry. Booth felt that this newspaper was a good idea as they had "many pieces of comedy to exite our visibilities" even though they had not had many "tragic scenes, to call forth the tender sensibilities, or fits of sentimentality."

For two days the newspaper was discussed endlessly, and the passengers eagerly anticipated the appearance of the first issue. In the meantime the editors put out a bag into which they invited passengers to place their advertisements and communications. They also posted a notice urging contributors to turn in their work as early as possible and also posted a prospectus in which they indicated the paper to be devoted to "wit, wisdom and fun" and urged contributors to follow the golden rule in their submissions. When the first issue was ready, its six pages were posted outside the main hatchway where everyone could read the paper. In addition to one article on California, there were comical drawings, a few editorial remarks, and advertisements, some of which were spurious and all of which were humorous. There were also some articles on rats, which were then quite plentiful on board. All in all, Booth felt that while there was plenty of wit and fun in the first "Andalusia Gazette," the concept of wisdom had been ignored. The second issue was equally amusing and contained one ludicrous drawing of a passenger who had imbibed so freely in Valparaiso that he was unable to walk up the steps to the ship and had to be hoisted on board in a chair. Booth commented that she had not suspected the paper "would be so entirely made up of the ridiculous" but added that she supposed "nothing else could be expected and so long as all feel disposed to laugh even at their own expense it will answer their purpose." After a weekend without the "Andalusia Gazette," the passengers were treated to two papers on Monday.

The competitor was called the "Fler." Booth described it as "a compound of abusive tirades and witty buffoonery" and admitted that the style of the "Gazette" had elicited "this retaliation as it certainly has indulged in many personalities which could not fail to be offensive to all concerned." Booth admitted that this was secondhand information, as the ladies had declined to read either of the papers. She added that she had heard there was to be an effort to reform the "Gazette" and indicated that one of the editors had offered to write an article on any subject she could mention that would be suitable for the ladies. Booth suggested an article on "The pleasures of Intellect and their superiority to an indulgence in witty buffoonery." A couple of days later Booth was pleased to note "a very great alteration and improvement" in the "Gazette." Apparently the "Fler" appeared only once.

The next day there were two extra newspapers, neither of which was named by Booth, but she did note they "were pretty much in the abusive style, taking off and caricaturing nearly all on board." Two more issues of the "Gazette" appeared at the end of the week. Booth noted that although the first was "full of sarcastical hits and personal allusions not difficult to be understood by all," she understood there was to be a second attempt to improve the paper. Only the "superior tact" of certain individuals had prevented "something disagreeable" from happening as a result of items in the "Gazette." Booth noted she could not really say much about the other issue of the "Gazette" since the ladies did not read the paper unless one of the cabin gentlemen brought it to them and recommended it as "it is not always fit for a Lady's perusal, containing as it does sometimes, coarse allusions &c &c." No papers were issued the following week, but late in the second week one issue of the "Whig Gazette" appeared after a farcical political gathering on board the *Andalusia*.⁴⁸

About three weeks before the *Andalusia* emigrants arrived in San Francisco, some of them surveyed the political affiliations of the passengers, found the Whigs outnumbered the Democrats, and decided to have a political convention to organize a government for California and elect officials. A few days later the citizens of the town of Andalusia met to draft a constitution for the territory and to elect a governor, senators, and representatives. F. H. Thorp of Baltimore was nominated as the Democratic candidate for governor, while Ivory Perkins of Kentucky was nominated as the Whig candidate. Booth noted that "the scene at the polls was beyond description.... Such a burlesque never was acted before.... Empty barrels were put into use for...conveying the sick and disabled to the ballot box. Of course, votes were disputed, and all sorts of charges made by one party against the other." The Whig candidate, Perkins, was elected, as that party outnumbered the Democrats by sixteen. The citizens next elected congressmen. Then the successful candidates were invited to speak. Booth reported that the whole process provided "one of the most amusing scenes I ever witnessed" and said she was surprised "to see with what earnestness the men performed their different parts. Just as much so, apparently, as if the whole were reality." The next day, Governor Perkins was inaugurated. In his inaugural address he promised to support pumpkins and cabbages and pledged himself to seek improvement in the duff "as the late

importations have been rather heavy." He received much applause for his stirring address. Thus ended the great political convention in the town of Andalusia.⁴⁹

Three weeks after leaving Valparaiso, several passengers on board the *Andalusia* decided to have a minstrel show which Booth referred to as a "concert...after the Ethiopian style, blackened faces and fanciful caps, which they are now making." The performers rehearsed in the forecastle for several days and arranged to have the performance, except for one act, between decks. When the performance day arrived. Booth noted she and the other ladies had received their invitations to attend the concert in "Steerage Hall." They decided to listen from the deck near the hatchway because they "feared the air might prove insalubrious." Booth admitted that, judging from what the gentlemen told her, listening at the hatchway "was not quite equal to seeing, however." The Steerage area was converted into a regular theater with a stage, scenery, and a drop curtain. The performance commenced at seven in the evening with several songs by the musicians, who had named themselves the Andalusia Harmonists. They also played and sang between the other acts. Interspersed between the music were "dialogues and conundrums, all of the most ludicrous character of course," followed by "an exhibition of juggling which also occasioned a good deal of mirth" and a performance on the slack rope" by James H. Denson of Baltimore. The last act was performed on deck as the eight feet between decks was not high enough for it. Booth concluded that "the whole affair passed off very well, the audience behaving themselves in the most orderly manner... At the conclusion, much applause was given and a loud call was made for their reappearance, which they were forced to obey. A sentimental song was then called for, which gave much satisfaction."⁵⁰ Presumably the passengers all retired contentedly after the performance.

Approximately two weeks after leaving Valparaiso, at the same time the passengers decided to begin issuing the daily "Andalusia Gazette," they decided to have a series of lectures presented by various passengers. The recommendation for this intellectual entertainment came from a committee of three composed of Reverend Taylor, Col. F. H. Hyer of Louisiana, and a Mr. Cardwell, who may have been added at Valparaiso as his name does not appear in either of the lists in Baltimore papers. They initially proposed to have the lectures each Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, which Booth was certain was too frequent and would quickly exhaust the talent on board. The first lecture was presented to an attentive crowd by S. B. Marye, a lawyer from Virginia, on the topic "physical formation of man." Booth noted Marye received much applause and that the audience "fully realized our expectations" in regard to his "ability and talent." Hyer's lecture addressed "the powers of the mind." Booth thought he exhibited "an intimate knowledge of the capabilities of the human mind" and demonstrated "his own mental powers" by his eloquence. George Gibson, an Englishman by birth who had resided in Baltimore a number of years, spoke next on "the Anglo-Saxon Race." Booth noted that it was an "admirable lecture" and that the speaker met her "previously high formed expectations" of his ability. Next was W.C. Chapman, a York, Pennsylvania, lawyer who discussed "the characteristics of the age." Chapman indicated that one of the major

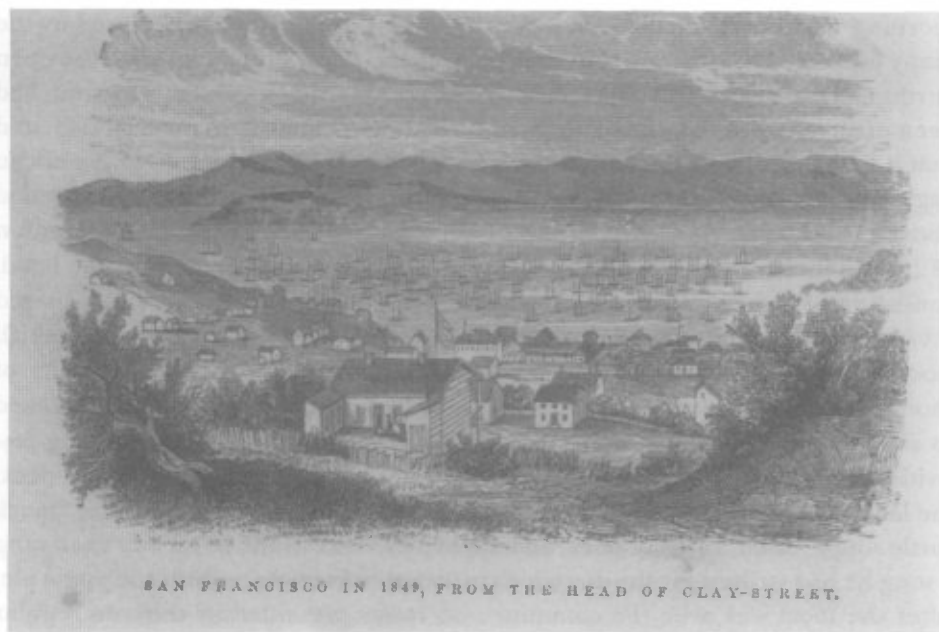
characteristics was "religious apathy," which he attributed to "a want of zealous sincerity in the lives and conduct of those into whose keeping are committed the spiritual interests of the people." Booth was very much impressed. She was very much unimpressed by the fifth lecturer, James Reese.⁵¹ His was a long speech, in which Booth found "hardly two sentences in the whole composition...that bore the slightest relation to each other. It reminded me more of the effusions of a crazy man than any thing else." What really disturbed her was that Reese made some comments of a very personal nature, some of which were "quite a fulsome tirade of flattery upon several of our shipmates, whose names he had the bad taste to mention." Dr. Buckner of Kentucky, the ship's physician, spoke next on "knowledge." Booth characterized it as a "very pretty, sensible lecture" in which he surveyed the progress of knowledge from the beginning of time and concluded that "there was yet much to learn." Dr. Thomas Hardy of Ohio presented the seventh lecture, on "the ignorance of the human system and the encouragement generally given to the common quackeries of the day." Booth noted that he was "very severe" on medical quacks and made a great effort to convince the passengers that they risked injury to themselves by using the "medicines" promoted by such men. The eighth lecture was on "music" by Reverend Kellon. Booth noted that he treated the topic "in a most beautiful manner and elicited much applause during his delivery." Reverend Taylor presented the last lecture on "the moral dignity of man." Booth noted that this lecture was presented extemporaneously (rather than being read) and that it was "accompanied with so many gestures and such a thoroughly religious strain" that it was "much better adapted to the Pulpit than the Orator's stand." Nevertheless, it was, she thought, "a well conceived and well expressed discourse."⁵²

Holiday celebrations provided one more form of amusement and entertainment on a long and sometimes tedious voyage. The *Andalusia's* passengers had the opportunity of celebrating two holidays. About the middle of June they began to make preparations to celebrate Independence Day. As usual, a committee was appointed to select an orator and make all the arrangements. On this occasion, one member was selected to represent each of the states from which passengers came. Some of the Marylanders objected that the person chosen to represent them was an Englishman who had been naturalized only a few days before the start of the voyage and succeeded in having him replaced with someone more to their liking. The planning committee quickly chose Dr. Thomas Hardy of Ohio as the orator, named Colonel Hyer and Captain Willson as president and vice president for the day, appointed several secretaries and committees, and designated Wes Cole, one of the mates, as captain of police, and a Mr. Williams as flag master. One of the committees was assigned the task of preparing toasts for the day. Special invitations were sent to the ladies, but they did not decide to attend until they had been visited by the president and vice president, who "guaranteed that everything should be conducted with order and propriety." The day began with the firing of the swivel gun at sunrise. Similar salutes were fired at noon and at sunset. Several "military" groups then marched around the deck. At the appointed time for the

morning meeting, the ladies were escorted below deck and were followed by the many officers of the day and the other passengers. They found that all of the open berths had been covered by various flags and ensigns, that a speaker's rostrum had been erected under the main hatchway with United States flags on each side, and that a framed copy of the Declaration of Independence and a carved American eagle with an olive branch of peace "not very green however" were suspended above the rostrum. R. C. Woodward of York, Pennsylvania, read the Declaration of Independence after the opening prayer by Reverend Taylor. Next the band, consisting of three violins, a flute, a clarinet, a guitar, and a tambourine, played several national airs. Then Dr. Thomas Hardy delivered a stirring oration which Booth thought "for beauty of composition, elegance of style, and sublimity of thought...could hardly be surpassed." Hardy spoke for an hour and was "listened to very attentively." The musicians then performed once again. Morning festivities concluded with a benediction. While all the men then dined below deck, the ladies retired to the cabin for their dinner. Included on the menu were "mock turtle soup," other forms of pork, and apple pies. One of the musicians even sang a song he had written for the day which included references to soup and apple pie. After the meal was over, the committee on toasts presented its thirteen regular toasts, one for each of the original states. All but the last one, which was to "the Ladies," was national in character in honor of such things as the army, the navy, the flag, George Washington, and "the Day." As each regular toast was offered, the swivel gun on deck was fired as a "signal for drinking and cheering." These were followed by numerous volunteer toasts by passengers and sailors. As the passengers had little liquor of their own, Captain Willson provided them with three gallons from his own supply. Little wonder that he was the subject of several volunteer toasts! Finally it was announced that the grand ball planned for the evening was "indefinitely postponed as the musicians were quite tired out." It was Booth's feeling that "the whole affair throughout reflects honourably upon all concerned. The day, instead of being marked by any of those outbreaks which too generally characterize its observance on land, passed off quietly and calmly without a single incident calculated to mar its pleasure. Could any thing more fully display the love and reverence which all Americans feel for their beloved country.... What a scene and what a lesson for those who profess to cavill at our republic and its sacred institutions."⁵³

The second holiday celebrated on board the *Andalusia* was 12 September, the anniversary of Baltimore's defense during the War of 1812. Festivities began at 2:00 P.M. when Dr. Buckner, the orator chosen for the occasion, was called upon to speak. He gave a brief history of the War of 1812 and praised the citizens of Baltimore for their heroics. After the oration, the passengers marched around the deck several times. Then they had their evening tea and listened to music and danced on deck for a short time.⁵⁴

As the *Andalusia* approached the California coast, some passengers concluded it was appropriate to express "their respect and gratitude" to Captain Willson for his "kindness and attention." As usual, a meeting of all the passengers was called, and



San Francisco in 1849, from the Head of Clay-Street, drawn by William Taylor. (California Life Illustrated [New York, 1860].)

a committee was appointed to draft resolutions to honor the captain. At this meeting Colonel Hyer spoke at some length in praise of Captain Willson and in criticism of Henry Mankin, the shipping agent who organized the voyage of the *Andalusia*. Hyer contended that Mankin had “grossly deceived them about the fare in the second cabin” and had “held out inducements to persons to take passage there, knowing...they could never be realized.” Had it not been for the kindness of Captain Willson in giving the second cabin passengers food not mentioned in the bill of fare, the “situation would have been much more trying” and the “privations much more numerous” in the second cabin. Hyer also praised the captain for his services as well as those of the crew in the Independence Day celebration, especially for the loan of the flags and for his contributions to the dinner. His remarks were “repeatedly interrupted by loud cheering” and when he concluded “the noise was almost deafening.” The resolutions drafted by the committee over a period of two weeks were read on 17 September.⁵⁵



The *Andalusia* arrived in San Francisco on 21 September after sailing more than 18,000 miles in 155 days. Other Baltimore vessels made the same voyage as follows: bark *Hebe* 216 days, bark *John Mayo* 165 days, schooner *Ferdinand* 198 days, brig *R. W. Brown* 210 days, brig *John Potter* 237 days, ship *Xylon* 182 days, and brig

Arabian 191 days.⁵⁶ *Andalusia* made the shortest voyage of most, if not all, of the Baltimore vessels that sailed before her.

Apparently in 1849 only six other vessels sailed from Baltimore for San Francisco via Cape Horn in the eight months that followed the sailing of the *Andalusia*. The brig *Osprey* commanded by Capt. J. F. Orem sailed on 20 June with fifteen passengers and a cargo consisting of ten two-story houses fourteen feet wide and twenty-eight feet deep, 100,000 feet of lumber, 20,000 bricks, brandy, groceries, and other goods.⁵⁷ Capt. Robert Benthall took the eight hundred ton ship *Louis Phillipe* out on 11 July with twenty-seven passengers and a large quantity of cargo that included sixty-four houses in frames ready to be erected in San Francisco. Also included were a twenty-five-by-eighty-foot warehouse and the little steamer *Mt. Vernon*.⁵⁸ The bark *E. H. Chapain* sailed from Baltimore on 21 July under the command of Capt. James Collier. She took twenty-one passengers and cargo that included over twenty frame houses.⁵⁹ On 1 August the brig *Amazon* sailed under the command of Capt. Michael McDonald with only two passengers. Listed as cargo were five thousand bricks, six houses, two warehouses, iron bedsteads, and the small schooner *Plutus* to be run on the Sacramento River. The houses were two story including parlors, bedrooms, kitchens, and "everything pertaining to good dwellings." They were painted and glazed and ready to be put up with tin roofs.⁶⁰ Captain Whitman took the bark *Martin W. Brett* to sea on 22 August with thirty-four passengers including six women and their children. Cargo included lumber, bricks, tobacco, liquors, and several houses. The editor of the *Baltimore Sun* noted that many of her passengers intended to take up permanent residence in California.⁶¹ Nearly four months passed before the ship *Henry Pratt* sailed on 17 December under the command of Captain Muling. She took out sixteen passengers, among whom were several members of a company of mechanics who intended to collect their gold by practicing their mechanical skills rather than by digging in the California earth. The unusual cargo that included two steam engines, a saw mill, a planing mill, a pile driver, and various tools appears to have reflected the nature of these passengers. A small iron steamboat was also included among the cargo.⁶²

Thus 1849 drew to a close. During the year Baltimore citizens witnessed the departure of hundreds of their relatives, friends, and neighbors as well as hundreds of strangers from other states. Baltimore merchants had a good year supplying provisions for all the vessels and their passengers and sending goods to California for resale. House builders kept busy constructing small houses to be shipped to distant California. Overall, the citizens of Baltimore, especially the mercantile class, had a very good year. The several vessels that sailed from Baltimore did nothing to damage that port's reputation as the supplier of good, fast, sailing vessels.

NOTES

1. The papers of virtually every city and hamlet carried news of gold fever in 1849. For a good example of the situation in New York see Barry L. Dutka, "New York Discovers GOLD! in California," *California History*, 63 (Fall 1984): 313-19, 334.

2. The *Andalusia* was built in Baltimore in 1848 by Abrahams & Cooper for William Wilson & Sons of Baltimore. Her dimensions were 151'4" in length, 33'5" in breadth, and 16'8" in depth. She measured 771 tons. She originally had a female figurehead but by 1853 had only a billet head. Her first voyage was to China, where she engaged in the British tea trade. She then made voyages to California in 1849, 1852, and 1853 before being condemned abroad in 1859. Master Carpenter certificate and Registers from Baltimore and New York in Record Group 41, Records of Marine Inspection and Navigation, National Archives and Records Administration.

3. Baltimore *Sun*, 11 January 1849. Further news on the *Greyhound* appeared in the *Sun* of 13 and 15 January, 21 April, and 30 June. A list of thirty-nine passengers, along with a report of her cargo (valued at \$100,000 and listed on a manifest nearly eleven feet long) appeared in the *Sun* of 10 January.

4. *Sun*, 12 and 15 January and 7 May 1849. A short article in the *Sun* of 1 January contains the information that the *Eclipse* was purchased by Capt. Isaac H. Norris and others from the Baltimore pilots' association. Norris captained the *Eclipse* to California. Thomas Letton commanded the *Paoli*.

5. *Sun*, 5 and 24-27 January 1849. A list of passengers appears in the *Sun* of the 25th and is supplemented in that of the 26th. Included among the passengers was one group called the "Harford California Association for Mining Purposes" (probably consisting of the thirteen passengers from Harford County) and another group of eight, all of whom were members of the Mechanical Fire Company of Baltimore.

6. See 25 January-27 July 1849 journal of William S. Hull of the ship *Jane Parker*, Maryland Historical Society Ms. 2135.

7. *Sun*, 5 February, 21 April, and 13 November 1849.

8. *Ibid.*, 3 and 5 February and 21 April 1849.

9. *Ibid.*, 3 and 5 February and 21 April 1849.

10. The first news the citizens of Baltimore had of this potential tragedy was on 17 July when the *Sun* published an extract of a letter from Montevideo, Uruguay, where the schooner *J. B. Gager* had gone for repairs. See also *Sun*, 18 and 31 July, 9 and 14 August, and 19 October 1849.

11. *Ibid.*, 10 February 1849.

12. *Ibid.*, 14 May 1849.

13. *Ibid.*, 22, 25, and 26 May and 2 June 1849. A detailed account of the conflict between Captain Brown and the passengers can be found in Dispatches from the United States Consuls in Rio de Janeiro, 1811-1906, National Archives, microcopy T-172, reels 13 and 14.

14. The one event that marred the voyage was the sudden suicide of a passenger named G. J. Emeen, who jumped overboard on 4 June (*Sun*, 9 and 16 August 1849).

15. *Ibid.*, 13 November 1849.

16. *Ibid.*, 24 and 26 February 1849.

17. *Ibid.*, 14 February 1849.

18. *Ibid.*, 1 March 1849 and *Baltimore American & Commercial Daily Advertiser*, 26 February 1849.

19. *American & Commercial Daily Advertiser*, 14 March 1849.

20. *Ibid.*, 16-20 April 1849 and *Sun*, 16-20 April 1849.

21. *Sun*, 1 March and 19 April 1849 and *American & Commercial Daily Advertiser*, 19 April 1849.

22. *Sun*, 6 February 1849. There was a building committee organized to raise funds for the chapel and to construct the frame in Baltimore and acquire other materials. Several meetings and musical events raised funds to pay for the chapel and supported the efforts of Reverend Taylor. Taylor spoke at most of the meetings. *Sun*, 9, 13, 20, and 29 January, 6, 8, 9, and 12 February, and 12 April 1849.

23. *Ibid.*, 19 and 25 April 1849.

24. *Ibid.*, 18 April 1849. The *Andalusia* made the voyage in slightly more than four months rather than the predicted six.

25. Anne Willson Booth, "Journal of a voyage from Baltimore, Maryland to San Francisco, California in the ship *Andalusia* under the command of F. W. Willson, 24 April 1849." Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, (hereafter Booth journal). Booth always and the two Baltimore papers usually spelled the captain's name Willson, but other sources spelled it Wilson. I have chosen the spelling in Booth's journal. Of the 150 or so journals of gold rush passengers I have located covering Cape Horn voyages in 1849, this is the only one written by a woman. In her entry for 17 July, Booth noted that the reason she started a journal and kept it so faithfully was that her father had asked her to do so, and she wanted her loved ones at home to know what had transpired during the long and tedious voyage. Among those loved ones left behind was a young son named George whom she mentioned fondly and frequently. Both Booth and her husband, whom she mentioned only as Mr. Booth, were not included in either passenger list published in Baltimore papers. Mrs. Booth referred to the captain as her uncle. From several of her comments, it appears that she lived in the first cabin constructed on deck, while her husband lived in the second cabin below deck.

26. Booth journal, 21 April 1849.

27. *Ibid.*, 28 April, 6 May, and 19 August 1849. The morning singing and prayer were apparently only in the small cabin on deck and did not involve all one hundred passengers.

28. *Ibid.*, 3 June 1849.

29. Nearly all gold rush vessels suspended church services in the vicinity of Cape Horn; it was too cold on deck, and few if any vessels had any other space in which a crowd could gather.

30. Booth journal, 17 and 24 June and 1, 8, and 15 July 1849.

31. *Ibid.*, 11 and 12 August 1849.

32. Ibid., 5 and 12 August 1849. See also *York Gazette*, 20 November 1849, wherein R. C. Woodward gave the name of the minister who joined them at Valparaiso as Keller and reported he was from Norwich, Massachusetts.

33. Booth journal, 11 and 12 August 1849.

34. Ibid., 19 and 26 August and 2 September 1849. On 19 August Booth noted that a number of passengers wore white shirts and some even had on white pants and white linen coats. She noted that this was unusual because they had much earlier voted not to wear white shirts because that was "decidedly aristocratic." She went on to note that the ship was kept "so perfectly clean" that such white articles could be "worn longer and in better credit than on land." Perhaps this is testimony to the effectiveness of the rules and regulations adopted early in the voyage, especially the appointment of supervisors or captains to maintain order, morality, and cleanliness.

35. Ibid., 9 May, 10 and 28 June 1849. William Canby wrote home early in the voyage that there had been a few complaints about the food; generally it was as good as had been promised in Baltimore (*Sun*, 16 July 1849). Another passenger, R. C. Woodward, wrote that even though "our salt junk eats none the better out of our rusty plates" and "a long sea voyage is not the place for greedy epicures to satiate a morbid appetite" the passengers came to realize in Valparaiso they had been fed much better than most argonauts (*York Gazette*, 20 November 1849).

36. Booth journal, 16 July 1849.

37. Ibid., 21 April; 16, 26, and 28 May; 1, 4, 9, and 28 June; 6 July; 1 August; and 9 and 13 September 1849.

38. Ibid., 8 July 1849.

39. Ibid., 17 May; 19 and 26 June; 9, 18, and 20 July; and 18 September 1849.

40. Ibid., 27 April; 16, 18, and 27 May; 22, 23, and 24 July; and 16 August 1849. R. C. Woodward noted in his letter that they had bed bugs, fleas, and lice in addition to the rats. He went on to say that their cabin had "ample room for both passengers and vermin" (*York Gazette*, 20 November 1849).

41. Booth journal, 30 April and 5 and 14 June 1849. These references to boredom are a bit surprising since passengers on the *Andalusia* probably did more to amuse and entertain themselves than did people on any other California-emigrant vessel. One should note that early in the voyage much activity was individual, whereas later in the voyage there were more group activities.

42. Ibid., 23 April, 7 May, 13 June, and 16 August 1849.

43. Ibid., 7 May, 5 and 13 June, and 14 August 1849.

44. Ibid., 23 April; 7, 16, 20, and 30 May; 8 June; 7 July; 15, 16, and 17 August; and 7 September 1849.

45. Ibid., 23 April 1849.

46. Ibid., 21 May 1849.

47. Ibid., 21, 23, and 30 June and 21 July 1849. In his *California Illustrated*, the Reverend William Taylor referred to his daughter as "our little Oceana" (p. 49).

48. Booth journal, 13-17, 20-25 and 27 August and 6 September 1849. It was not at all uncommon for diverse groups to poke fun at or ridicule each other as the *Andalusia* passengers did.

49. Ibid., 2, 6, and 7 September 1849. Connecticut passengers on the schooner *General Morgan* held a mock election for governor on 2 May 1849, the regular election day at home. This is the only activity remotely similar to that on the *Andalusia*.

50. Ibid., 21 and 23 August 1849.

51. He may have been added in Valparaiso as no James Reese appears in the passenger lists in either of the Baltimore papers.

52. Ibid., 13, 17, 21, 22, 24, 27, 30, and 31 August, and 3 and 5 September 1849. After describing the first lecture, Booth noted, "I think this is some what of a novel occurrence on board ship, but am sure nothing could be more interesting or instructive." While lectures were not unique to the *Andalusia*, she is the only vessel on which I have found reference to such a lengthy series of lectures on such a broad range of topics. In early September, R. C. Woodward wrote that passengers had "exhausted every topic of conversation; and amusements of every description began to flag. In fact, everything seems to have given way to the different conjectures respecting the state of affairs in California" (*York Gazette*, 20 November 1849).

53. Booth journal, 14, 15, and 23 June and 4 July 1849. This quite extensive ceremony was remarkable in view of the ship's nearness to Cape Horn (*Andalusia* passed that stormy point at 11:00 A.M. on 5 July). The celebration was typical for vessels in the California fleet. The thirteen regular toasts and many volunteer toasts were regular features. At the conclusion of her account of the day, Booth noted that several passengers were to prepare reports of the day and send them to Baltimore from Valparaiso in hopes that the account would be published in the papers. I failed to find any such reports in the two Baltimore papers I searched. The *York Gazette* of 20 November 1849 printed a letter from G. W. Klinefelter, who wrote, "We had a beautiful day for the celebration...and enjoyed the social festivity of it quite as much as if we had been on shore." He also noted the "very sumptuous dinner, of which we all partook with excellent appetites."

54. Booth journal, 10 and 12 September 1849. Booth referred to Buckner as a Marylander, and it seems logical that a Marylander should speak on a Maryland holiday, though the *Sun* of 19 April 1849 listed him as being from Kentucky.

55. Ibid., 1, 3, and 17 September 1849.

56. *Sun*, 13 November and 10 December 1849.

57. Ibid., 20 June 1849.

58. Ibid., 1 and 14 June and 13 July 1849.

59. Ibid., 21 and 23 July 1849.

60. Ibid., 2 August 1849.

61. Ibid., 22 August 1849.

62. Ibid., 18 December 1849. Numerous other vessels were advertised in the *Sun* throughout 1849, and it is likely that a few of them actually did sail for California, but I did not see references to their departures. The *Sun* of 16 October 1849 mentions that the bark *Texidor*, Odeman, the ship *Seaman*, Myrick, and the brig *Saldana*, Hardie, all of and from Baltimore, had arrived in Valparaiso. Probably they were headed for California.

Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

Jeremiah Yellott—Revolutionary-War Privateersman and Baltimore Philanthropist

JOHN BOSLEY YELLOTT, JR.

Jeremiah Yellott founded a fortune as a privateersman during the American Revolution. He is credited with putting to sea some of the earliest of the topsail schooners that were the forerunners of the Baltimore Clippers. Children, vessels, and even horses were named for him years after his death.

During the American Revolution a new kind of vessel began to appear on Chesapeake waterways—sleek topsail schooners with swept-back masts and fore-and-aft rigging. They were light, fast, and could sail close to the wind, useful for dodging cumbersome British warships. The topsail schooners became the vessels of choice for merchants running cargoes past the British blockade, for slavers, and for privateers cruising in search of captures. Speed earned these vessels the sobriquet “clipper ships,” and they were the progenitors of what decades later came to be called the Baltimore Clippers.¹ Many persons claimed the distinction of building the first topsail schooner. Naval historians believe that this vessel evolved in Baltimore and Eastern Shore shipyards from luggars, sloops, and Virginia pilot boats.²

A history of prominent families of Baltimore County published in the *Towson Baltimore County Union* in 1878, however, credited Capt. Jeremiah Yellott with first introducing the topsail schooner to a skeptical Baltimore:

The wise-acres of the period, who knew all that possibly could be known of naval construction, were not slack in predicting that this jimcrack if it ever got into the water, would not stand up long enough to take in cargo and sail out of port. To whom the Captain made this answer—(not solely this, probably, for he was ready and stinging in his speech). He launched his craft, for she was ready, and bore away for Bordeaux, then blockaded by the British and short of provisions. By able maneuvering and fast heels he

Mr. Yellott, an attorney practicing maritime and government contract law in Alexandria, Virginia, has a long-time interest in privateering and the American Revolution.

easily ran through the hostile squadron, and sold his flour for thirty-five dollars per barrel and his ship at some equally large figure. Returning from France to Baltimore in a slow sailer he is said to have nearly died from the tedium of his voyage.

The story asserted that Captain Yellott's demonstration forced the shipwrights of Baltimore to reconsider:

and from that time to the days of steam no privateer, or pirate, felt so happy as when on the deck of a Baltimore Clipper... a nautical achievement which, more than any other thing, has carried the name of Baltimore to the ends of the earth.³

Griffith's *Annals of Baltimore* attributed to Captain Yellott not the first clipper but command of the first topsail schooner built specifically to serve as a privateer.⁴

Whichever first we attribute to him, Yellott certainly spent much of the American Revolution aboard schooners commissioned with letters of marque and reprisal, licenses issued to private shipowners to capture and claim as prizes enemy vessels and their cargoes. Merchantmen sailing under letters of marque were essentially naval auxiliaries bound by oath and a posted bond not to kill in cold blood, nor to "maim, or by torture or otherwise," engage in "conduct contrary to the practice of civilized nations"—or else they would face "severe penalties."⁵ Privateering was considered at the time an honorable calling combining patriotism and profits, and Yellott became one among those who led the business.

Yellott had arrived in Baltimore in 1774 as a young immigrant from Yorkshire, England.⁶ Four years later, his name first appeared in the surviving applications for letters of marque: he was master of the schooner *Camden*, described as "forty tons burthen mounting four swivels and two howitz., five small arms, navigated by eight men, owned by Charles Ridgely and others of Baltimore, bound for Hispaniola."⁷ Yellott's application was dated November 1778, a time when British warships blockaded the Chesapeake and high profits awaited Baltimore merchants who were willing to run some risks. *Camden's* diminutive size and meager crew would make her primarily a letter of marque trader rather than a pure privateer. She might take a small capture if the opportunity arose, but would be more likely to run than to fight.

Upon *Camden's* return to Baltimore in June 1779 she got a new master, Jacob Walters, and in July 1779 Yellott took command of the more fearsome *Felicity*, a vessel owned by John Sterett. The *Felicity* was a sixty-ton, fore-and-aft-rigged schooner with a crew of twenty-five, armed with six cannon, six swivels, twelve muskets, eighteen cutlasses, three hundred kegs of powder, fifty-six round shot, 156 bar shot, 140 musket balls, one hundred swivel shot, and two hundred pounds langrage—langrage being a brutal assortment of nuts and bolts, rusty nails, shards of glass and whatever else was available, stuffed in a cannon and fired as shrapnel. Privateersmen tried to incapacitate and capture rather than to sink enemy vessels,

and accordingly *Felicity's* predominant armaments were for shredding sails, rigging, and the enemy crew.⁸

After six months Captain Yellott entrusted *Felicity* to his former first mate, Frederick Folger, and in 1780 Yellott transferred to the even more formidable *Antelope*, a schooner measuring 130 tons, with a crew of forty-three men and boys, and armed with heavy carriage guns.⁹ Henceforward the *Antelope* and *Felicity* sailed together as companion vessels, making "a great many narrow escapes and some captures, but always fortunate voyages."¹⁰

Newspapers recounted one of their adventures in the spring of 1781. On that voyage, Folger commanded *Antelope*. The officers on *Felicity* were Peter Wing, Thomas Cole, and Peter Sharp. Captain Yellott's applications for letters of marque described them as follows:

Peter Wing, Master of the within named schooner *Felicity* is of the age of twenty four years, stature five feet six inches, dark brown hair and of dark complexion. Thos. Cole is an American born, 20 yrs. of age, about 6 feet high, well made, black hair, grey eyes, fair complex. pitted with the small pox. Peter Sharp, Chief Mate of the schooner *Felicity*, an American born 25 years of age, about 5 feet 10, well made, dark brown hair, blue eyes, fair complexion, a tear in his right eyebrow.¹¹

These young men were sailing *Antelope* and *Felicity* inbound from Guadeloupe when they happened upon the English brig *Hetty and Cornwallis*. After a short contest the British surrendered their prize, a Dutch merchant vessel, *Resolution*. As Yellott's prize crew was sailing *Resolution* to port for condemnation and sale, the English privateer *Revenge* seized her. Then a Philadelphia privateer, the *Ariel*, retook *Resolution* again—so that by the time the American and English privateers were finished wrestling over *Resolution* she had changed hands four times.¹²

In the same voyage up the Chesapeake *Antelope* and *Felicity* captured an English privateer named the *Jack-O-Lantern*, thereby reclaiming the baggage of the Marquis de Lafayette which *Jack-O-Lantern* had taken from a small vessel at Head of Elk.¹³ This time the prize crew did manage to sail *Jack-O-Lantern* safely to port in Annapolis. On 25 April 1781 Captain Folger appeared before the admiralty court to institute condemnation proceedings on behalf of *Antelope's* owners—which by then included Captain Yellott. The court sold the vessel the following November, realizing £3200¹⁴ (the schooner's armament brought £350 and a slave boy £300).¹⁵ After deductions for the judge's travel expenses, attorney's fees of £600, and taxes, £1,327.75 remained to be apportioned half to the owners and half to the crew. It seems that in the case of *Jack-O-Lantern* the lawyer made nearly as much as the privateersman's crew.

By late 1781 Captain Yellott was well enough known to the British that masters of British warships warned their merchantmen to avoid Chesapeake waters, where Yellott was reputed to have two vessels and a force of sixty men.¹⁶ The English did occasionally manage to inflict some damage in reprisal, however. A Baltimore paper

recounted the death by cannon shot of a boy on *Antelope* on an inbound voyage in October 1782:

On her way up the Bay, off Patuxent, she was attacked by one of the Enemy's cruisers, of superior force, which, after a short contest, she repulsed; sustaining little other injury than the loss of a very sprightly Youth (the only son of Mr. Steel, Shipbuilder, at Fells point) who was instantly killed by cannon shot, an event that is much lamented by all his relatives and acquaintance.¹⁷

Scholars differ over whether privateering was generally profitable, given the price in cargoes, vessels, lives, and lawyers.¹⁸ Captain Yellott appears to have invested both in letter of marque traders (which carried cargo) and privateering schooners (which only cruised for prizes). Combining trade with captures proved to be a lucrative strategy, for in only five years during the American Revolution Yellott rose from obscurity to become one of the most prominent merchants in Baltimore.

There is no record that Yellott owned any real property before 1778, but his share of the profits as master of little *Camden* allowed him to lease (and later to buy) land abutting a wharf owned by shipping magnate Jesse Hollingsworth.¹⁹ There Yellott built a warehouse for his cargoes. Yellott's workmen would discover him to be a demanding employer: "[H]e was one of the kind that set men to wheeling ballast from one side of the yard to the other and back again and again, preferring to pay for useless labor to having idlers about him."²⁰

Captain Yellott's voyages as Master of *Felicity* and then of *Antelope* were sufficiently remunerative that in 1781 he could buy interests in both vessels. Subsequent voyages increased his capital to the point that in 1782 and 1783 he was able to diversify his investments among forty-four voyages and fourteen vessels—the second largest number of voyage investments at the time.²¹

Often familial as well as financial ties bound together Baltimore's maritime community. In February 1781 Captain Yellott was in a position to marry Mary Hollingsworth, his neighbor's daughter. That Yellott was relatively new to the scene was apparent from the newspaper notice, which misspelled Yellott's name as "Yallot" and misnamed Yellott's wife "Polly."²² The union was childless but happy, and twenty-four years later Yellott bequeathed much of his fortune to his "beloved wife Mary."²³

Soon after the close of the American Revolution, in 1783, the Yellotts joined the landed gentry, purchasing about seventy acres of rolling and partly wooded farmland abutting the Reisterstown turnpike, a site that he named Woodville.²⁴ Captain Yellott alternated sojourns to Woodville and attending to business from a commodious residence on what was then Fourth Street, now South Street, in Baltimore.

By the late 1780s Yellott was firmly ensconced among the burghers of Baltimore. With his father-in-law, Mr. Hollingsworth, his former employers Charles Ridgely and John Sterett, and friends like the financier Robert Oliver, he formed one of

the most powerful shipping combines controlling Baltimore commerce. Oliver described Yellott to overseas business contacts as a "man of fortune—one of the best and most independent men in this country," whose "draft was as safe as the Bank of England."²⁵

In 1792 Captain Yellott's brother John and his family immigrated to Maryland from Pomfret in Yorkshire, England. Half a century later the Towson newspaper speculated that Captain Yellott's great prosperity and the fact he was childless may have been an inducement to his brother's immigration. John Yellott was reportedly "a farmer as rugged and independent of spirit and absolute in the sphere to which he was limited, as the Captain."²⁶

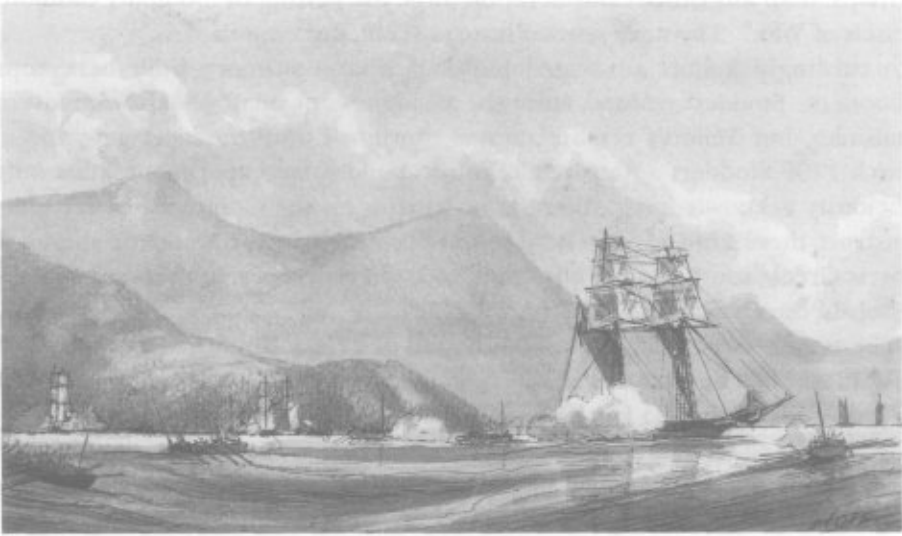
In the 1790s revolutionary French privateers began seizing American cargoes under the pretext of enforcing customs regulations—originally a policy intended to harass the young American nation into taking sides in the French conflict with Britain. Soon the anarchy of the Revolution infused French Caribbean colonies, and government control and even the pretense of legality fell away. French privateersmen, now pirates plundering at random, became such predators that Maryland's commerce with the Caribbean almost ceased.²⁷

Congress authorized American merchantmen to sail against the French under letters of marque, just as the Continental Congress had retaliated against British privateering at the start of the American Revolution. Captain Yellott commissioned at least two of his vessels with letters of marque: the 139-ton schooner *America* (four guns, fourteen men, master A. Odeest) and the 97-ton schooner *Arb* (two guns, ten men, master William Richardson).²⁸ It became apparent, however, that protecting the Caribbean trade required more than arming merchantmen. The United States would have to build a navy.

In the spring of 1798 the Senate confirmed Marylander Benjamin Stoddert as America's first secretary for the navy—primarily on the strength of his political connections. He would cheerfully concede he knew nothing about outfitting vessels for war. Even before Stoddert had sworn his oath of office he had asked Jeremiah Yellott to serve as his naval agent in Baltimore.²⁹

That summer President Adams received (exaggerated) reports that twenty to thirty French vessels were holding captive in Havana harbor more than one hundred American vessels with cargoes worth \$2 million.³⁰ Stoddert decided to improvise a fleet for immediate dispatch to Cuba. In Baltimore he purchased and outfitted the *Montezuma* and *Adrianna* (renamed *Baltimore*), which were to join the thirty-eight gun frigate *Constellation*, built in Baltimore the previous year. On Stoddert's instructions Yellott bought the vessels, procured slops and ship's stores, tested and loaded aboard cannons, muskets, pistols, swords, boarding pikes, powder and shot, and had the vessels provisioned, victualed and ready to sail complete with officers and crew in little more than two months.³¹

Adams ordered *Montezuma* and *Baltimore* to sail to Cuba without delay, under the command of Capt. Thomas Truxton aboard the *Constellation*. Truxton's little squadron left so hastily that Yellott found himself advancing money to support the



Sloop U.S.S. *Experiment* driving off picaroons in the West Indies, 1 January 1800. U.S. Navy photograph of a sketch by Hoff.

distressed wife of a sailor; Truxton had neglected filling out a navy form forwarding pay to crewmembers' families.³²

Baltimore's anxious merchants had vessels by the hundreds awaiting escort in the bays, creeks, and estuaries at Hampton Roads. But to their chagrin Truxton construed the urgency of the president's orders to preclude taking time to organize a convoy. Yellott dispatched the master of *Arb*, bound for Havana with a cargo of flour, with clarifying instructions: Truxton was to make up a convoy of any vessels that could keep up with *Baltimore*. Nearly all of them did.³³

When the convoy arrived in Cuba the enemy had made themselves scarce. Truxton spotted only one French privateer, which until the breeze fell he chased almost into the breakers. Then Truxton watched in frustration from a becalmed *Constellation* while the little French vessel sprouted oars and rowed to safety. About the only other excitement occurred when Capt. George Broadwater, commanding the American privateer *Nancy*, mistakenly attacked and attempted to board the *Baltimore*. Truxton ordered Broadwater "not to attempt to hover about [the convoy] again."³⁴

Meanwhile Stoddert had been pressing Yellott for construction of another twenty-four-gun warship in Baltimore, "where the spirit of the merchants and citizens has been so patriotically displayed."³⁵ But Truxton reported from the Caribbean that the heaviest French vessel was only a sixteen-gun schooner, the rest being two, four or six guns. These fast little nuisances outran almost anything, and skipped to safety over shallow shoals and up creeks where a warship could not follow. Truxton urged Yellott to ignore those, who "more from Ambition and Pride,

perhaps, than any other Consideration, urge the putting of too many Cannon on Vessels of War." The navy needed instead small, fast, vessels.³⁶

Accordingly Yellott advocated building what Baltimore built best: topsail schooners. Stoddert resisted, since the advantages of small vessels were lost on a landsman, but Yellott's remonstrations continued until Stoddert gave in.³⁷ In March 1799 Stoddert authorized Yellott to build some experimental fast sailers, graciously acknowledging "there is no person on the Continent better able to construct these kind of vessels." Yellott employed David Stodder's shipyard at Harris Creek, southeast of Fells Point, to build what became the most successful vessels in the Quasi-War with France: *Experiment* and *Enterprise*.³⁸

The vessels were ready to sail by the fall of 1799. But Stoddert's prospective officers recoiled at their first inspection, complaining that the schooners offered no protection against so much as a musket ball. They demanded heavy decks and bulwarks suited for "hard fighting as well as fast sailing" because (as Stoddert wrote condescendingly to former privateersman Yellott) "privateers are permitted to run from everything able to fight them, but Navy officers cannot."³⁹

Yellott would not budge. Stoddert grumbled ("[t]he difficulty of getting an officer to go in a small vessel is inconceivable") but Yellott prevailed. Instead of changing the vessels, Yellott changed officers. At Yellott's recommendation, Captain Phillips relinquished command of *Baltimore* and took over *Enterprise*, while Capt. William Malley received command of *Experiment*.⁴⁰

The *Experiment* fought many engagements (including the mistaken attack and defeat of an English schooner), but her most famous exploit may have been the encounter with a fleet of picaroon barges on New Years Day, 1800. The *Experiment* was escorting a convoy off Hispaniola when the wind fell. As the merchant vessels floated motionless under slack sails, a flotilla of no less than ten barges carrying four to five hundred pirates, rowed out from a hidden cove. Captain Malley waited with his gunports closed and his crew hidden until the pirates pulled within range. Then *Experiment* rolled out her cannon, and a barrage erupted from what had seemed to be a docile merchantman. The chastened pirates rowed back to shore to discharge their dead and wounded, and then regrouped, this time to try different tactics.

The pirate barges divided into squadrons, and while some harassed *Experiment*, others rowed around toward a merchant vessel beyond *Experiment's* protection, the schooner *Mary*. The pirates began firing muskets, and a ball wounded *Mary's* master, William Chipman. The *Mary's* crew fled below or jumped overboard as the pirates rowed alongside, swung grappling irons into her rigging, and swarmed over the rail. The pirates occupied themselves torturing and mutilating the helpless Captain Chipman. This kept them so entertained that they failed to notice Captain Malley had disengaged *Experiment* from the other barges and was using sweeps to swing behind *Mary*. Malley gave the order to fire, and grapeshot ravaged *Mary's* deck.

A few tattered pirates scampered back to their barges, and the *Mary* temporarily was saved. But the wind remained nearly dead calm, and the merchant vessels

slowly drifted too far apart for *Experiment* to protect them all. The pirates mounted a third attack and this time recaptured and towed away *Mary*, and then they took two others. Despite the losses, the incident proved Truxton and Yellott right about the value of maneuverability. If *Experiment* had been too large and heavy to use sweeps effectively, the tenacious pirates could have continued cutting out becalmed merchantmen at their leisure.⁴¹

Altogether, Yellott's little *Enterprise* and *Experiment* captured at least twenty-five prizes during the Quasi-War with France.⁴² They were so successful that in 1803 Stoddert ordered another schooner constructed "in exact conformity" with Yellott's plan for *Enterprise*, "which we know to be built after an excellent model."⁴³ In contrast, Stoddert's lumbering *Montezuma* ended up ferrying prisoners, and the behemoth *Baltimore* was of use primarily to the British, for impressment of American seamen.⁴⁴ The *Experiment* and *Enterprise* were Yellott's last efforts as naval agent, and in 1800 Archibald Campbell succeeded him.⁴⁵

About the same time Yellott was battling navy bureaucracy in Washington and French pirates in the Caribbean, he found himself defending his honor in a private dispute at home in Baltimore. The argument escalated out of a minor snub, when Yellott's friend Robert Oliver blackballed young and hotheaded Robert Smith from a membership Smith coveted in the Baltimore dancing assembly room. Smith retaliated by spreading rumors that Oliver had committed forgery in cashing a bank draft. This hit close to home, for the vagaries of international commerce had indeed involved Oliver in occasional deceptions, a modest bribe, and a little forgery.⁴⁶

Nonetheless Oliver's credit, and in turn his livelihood, depended on his good name, and Smith's accusations could not stand unchallenged. Oliver sent Yellott, together with Oliver's business partner, Hugh Thompson, and another Baltimore merchant, Mark Pringle, as seconds to demand satisfaction from Smith. On 9 December 1798 Oliver's emissaries met Smith and his seconds, Robert Etting and James Buchanan, at Bryden's tavern. They attempted to negotiate a peaceful resolution, as was the custom in the Baltimore duel, and Oliver's seconds left the tavern satisfied with Smith's promise to publish an apology in the local paper. Instead Smith published not only an enlarged and embellished story of the stolen check, but baited Oliver with another insulting anecdote. Oliver had cowered before a horsewhipping, alleged Smith, and "[s]ubmitting in the manner you did to so disgraceful an insult, you have forfeited the privilege of drawing a trigger with a gentleman."⁴⁷

An outraged Oliver struck back, publishing affidavits testifying to his brave and gentlemanly deportment on the occasion of the horsewhipping. Oliver threatened to seek retribution in darkness and secrecy if Smith continued ducking the duel. Yellott, Thompson, and Pringle also published letters supporting Oliver and condemned Smith for duplicity in failing to apologize, lamenting Smith's "malignant" and "revengeful" publications.⁴⁸ Whereupon Smith not only counter-attacked Oliver, but Oliver's seconds Yellott, Thompson and Pringle, too. Smith had the temerity to call Yellott a coward. Predictably, Yellott sent his own seconds, William McCreery (who was later to serve in Congress) and John Stricker (another

prominent merchant and later naval agent), to inform Smith that he had an immediate appointment with Yellott on the field of honor. Pringle and Thompson did the same. That gave rise to the awkward predicament of deciding who—Oliver, Yellott, Thompson or Pringle—should have the pleasure of shooting Smith first.

The appointed hour was the evening of 26 December 1798, and on the 27th rumors of bloodshed flew in letters from Baltimore—that Oliver had killed Smith, or Smith had killed Thompson.⁴⁹ In truth the affair had become all too public, and magistrates intervened. At their insistence the combatants exchanged apologies in several short and strained letters carried in the Baltimore paper of 31 December 1798. These included Smith's curt retraction of the accusation of cowardice against Yellott because, he wrote, it was "incorrect."⁵⁰

That imbroglío behind him, Captain Yellott soon found himself caught up in another—albeit somewhat more spiritual confrontation—involving St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Baltimore, where Yellott served on the vestry. The Reverend George Dashiel, Yellott's friend, was making enemies among the staid Episcopal clergy by offering extemporaneous rather than printed prayers, by encouraging loud singing, and with hijinks like pretending to leap into bed with lovely young parishioners—"inexcusable levity," in the view of the Church hierarchy.⁵¹ Dashiel lost an appointment as associate rector, and the St. Paul's congregation split amid intrigues and threats of a vestry fight to oust the presiding rector.

This time the dispute was resolved with bricks and mortar rather than pistols. In 1803 Dashiel's supporters seceded from St. Paul's and built him a new church, named St. Peter's.⁵² Yellott underwrote the funding and supervised construction of the church, which was modelled after a Greek temple. A writer later remarked it seemed to be "built on the plan of a barn," which in the 1860s gave way to "much better looking warehouses."⁵³ At first Dashiel was a brilliant success, and his sermons drew crowds, but his evangelical teachings eventually progressed to such a radical extreme that the presiding bishop banned Dashiel from his own pulpit.⁵⁴

The original St. Peter's was the headquarters of the Reformed Episcopal Church movement in Maryland. Its successor, after a move and a merger, is the existing Church of Grace and St. Peter's—which is very High Church indeed. The school of Grace and St. Peter's owes its existence to Captain Yellott, who, with a \$10,000 bequest for the education of poor children, in 1805 founded its predecessor, St. Peter's School, as the first free public school in Baltimore.⁵⁵

Many civic and charitable endeavors of the period were the work of citizens' committees, and Yellott served on several. In 1793 he joined a committee for the relief of 1,500 destitute refugees fleeing the slave insurrection in Saint Domingue or Haiti. Some of Baltimore's kind citizens opened their homes to the refugees, including Captain Yellott and his wife, who took in an orphan girl named Nancy Gooding and raised her as their own. Yellott was also on the committee to found the Bank of Baltimore. He helped establish a hospital during a virulent outbreak of yellow fever. He sat on a board to regulate and license harbor pilots, and on panels to arbitrate commercial disputes. Perhaps one of his most salubrious civic endeavors was the committee to raise funds for strengthening Fort McHenry.⁵⁶

In February 1805, after a lifetime of achievement and contribution to his community, Captain Yellott, "weak in body but of sound and disposing mind and memory," wrote his will. His memory was sound indeed. He specified that St. Peter's would receive its bequest only when his fellow vestrymen had repaid his loan on the rectory. Likewise, Yellott's wastrel nephew George Yellott was cut off altogether unless he demonstrated to the executor, Samuel Owings, "reformation, sobriety, and prudent and upright deportment of life and manners." Yellott left a final melancholy legacy to the Academy of St. Paul: "the hull of the old ship *Isis*, lying sunk in Hanifer Creek."⁵⁷

Yellott's assets totalled \$381,159.46, ranking him among the wealthiest men in Baltimore (although not so rich as Robert Oliver, whose \$1.3 million fortune was considered one of the largest in the country).⁵⁸ Yellott's estate was far too opulent to fully catalogue here—suffice it to say by way of example, that Yellott had furnished his Fourth Street home with mahogany tables, desks, chairs, secretaries, bureaus and feather beds; his closets yielded thirteen linen jackets and twenty-two pairs of trousers; his kitchen cabinets disgorged silver goblets, chafing dishes, china plates, custard cups, fish kettles and butter boats—and Yellott owned another house on South Stuart Street in Baltimore; and a third, the country house Woodville, and three riding carriages to travel between them. In his warehouse were stack after dusty stack of merchandise: "117 boxes each containing 300 pair oval evening cups and saucers; 109 boxes each containing 780 sugar bowls," etc. Among the teacups and sugar bowls were reminders of an earlier, less civilized era: "three cases of muskets, six old bayonets and boarding pikes, two blunderbusses, three cutlasses, four swivel guns, and three powder kegs and barrels of shot."⁵⁹

Captain Yellott died on Sunday morning, 5 February 1805.⁶⁰ The following Sunday the Reverend Dashiell devoted the sermon to him. Although Yellott died childless his name was carried on, for Rev. Dashiell named a son after him, and Yellott's nephew, John Yellott, Jr., also named a son Jeremiah—and named his best horse "Captain."

In possibly a more fitting remembrance, Baltimore shipowners for years christened their clippers in Captain Yellott's honor. In 1819 Bernard J. Kopff launched a sharp-built craft of 195 tons named the *Yellott*, which proved itself a true clipper in her first voyage by traveling from Baltimore to Havana, Cuba, in only two weeks.⁶¹ A few years later the famous shipwright Isaac McKim registered another schooner *Yellott*. Described as a "very smart craft," this *Yellott* was to carry Maryland cargoes throughout the next decade, setting a series of speed records in her travels.⁶² Now nearly forgotten, Captain Yellott in his day "stood among the foremost of the energetic men who worked upon the foundations of Maryland's great city."⁶³

NOTES

1. Frederick C. Cutler, *Greyhounds of the Sea* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Naval Institute, 1936) pp. 7-10, 43-52. See also Arthur Pierce Middleton, "Ships and Shipbuilding in the Chesapeake Bay and Tributaries," in Ernest McNeill Eller, ed., *Chesapeake Bay in the American Revolution*, (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1981) pp. 98-99.
2. Middleton, "Ships and Shipbuilding in the Chesapeake Bay and Tributaries," in Eller, ed., *Chesapeake Bay in the American Revolution*, pp. 99-100.
3. "Notes on Dulaney's Valley By an Exile," Towson *Baltimore County Union*, September 1878. This historical essay on families of Baltimore County was published anonymously as a serial in the Towson, Maryland, newspaper beginning in September 1878 (the exact publication dates are unknown). References are to the original typescript in Yellott family papers, collection of the author, 515 South Fairfax Street, Alexandria, Va. 22314.
4. The vessel was the *Antelope*, a schooner built at North Point Creek by J. Pearce for John Sterett. See Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore: William Woody, 1833), p. 78.
5. "Instructions to Commanders of Private Ships or Vessels of War," in Worthington Chauncey Ford, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (13 vols.; Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1905-1937), 4:253-54. See also Jerome R. Garitree, *The Republic's Private Navy* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1977), p. 18.
6. Bill and Martha Reamy, *Records of St. Paul's Parish* (Westminster, Md.: Family Line Publications, 1988), p. 158.
7. Applications for Letters of Marque and Reprisal, Papers of the Continental Congress, National Archives, Washington D.C. (hereafter Applications).
8. Applications, 15 June 1779 and 19 July 1779.
9. Applications, 20 January 1779 and 17 August 1780.
10. Griffith, *Annals*, p. 78. Although the records are incomplete, it appears that *Felicity* and *Antelope* sailed together throughout successive changes of ownership and refittings during the American Revolution, the Quasi-War with France in the 1790s, and most of the War of 1812. They finally suffered an ignominious defeat at the hands of their old enemies the British. Early in the morning of 18 April 1814 a four-barge British expedition rowed up the Rappahannock River with muffled oars, surprised the vessels at anchor, and captured them. A witness reported that British prize crews sailed *Antelope* and *Felicity* downriver to their warships waiting in the bay "in apparent triumph." See William Lambert to the Governor, 22 April 1814, in H. W. Flournoy, ed., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, (11 vols. to date; Richmond: James E. Goode, 1892-) 10:324.
11. Applications, 20 January 1781 and 21 January 1781.

12. *Trenton New Jersey Gazette*, 16 May 1781; *Philadelphia Pennsylvania Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 16 May 1781; *Baltimore Maryland Journal and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, 29 October 1782.

13. *New Jersey Gazette*, 16 May 1791. About the same time the British retook another of Captain Yellott's prizes, the ship *Windsor*. They detained Yellott's prize master George Blunt, who languished in a British prison ship in New York for nine months until he was exchanged for Nichols Byrn, an Englishman Captain Folger had captured in *Antelope*. John Sterett to Council, 31 May 1781, in William Hand Browne, ed., *Archives of Maryland* (72 vols. to date; Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883-), 47:261.

14. Admiralty Court Records 1781 (loose folios), Maryland State Archives, Annapolis (hereafter MSA).

15. The boy was a fugitive slave named Joe, owned by John Eden of St. Mary's County. In May 1781 the revolutionary council in Baltimore temporarily released Joe to Eden's custody pending the General Assembly's ruling on whether "Negroe property" captured by a privateer was to be treated as a prize, or returned to the slaveowner as a matter of "justice and good policy" given "the facility with which [slaves] abandon the service of their masters who live on the waters." The assembly confirmed that captured slaves were prizes to be condemned and sold, unless former owners paid the privateers salvage for recovering them. Eden chose not to pay salvage, and in November Joe was auctioned with the *Jack-O-Lantern* and its cargo (Council to Matthew Tilghman, 14 May 1781; Council to General Assembly, 12 June 1781 and 6 October 1781, *Archives of Maryland*, 45:435, 473, 634).

16. Affidavit in Defense of Thomas Doyle, Letters of William Patterson, Ms. 1814, MdHS. Doyle was accused of trading with the enemy, and asserted as part of his defense that no enemy traders would be found anywhere near waters where Yellott was known to be operating. Whether Doyle's defense succeeded is not recorded.

17. *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, 29 October 1782.

18. Compare Middleton, "Ships and Shipbuilding in the Chesapeake Bay and Tributaries," in Eller, ed., *Chesapeake Bay in the American Revolution*, p. 119 (privateering was an attractive investment), with Todd Cooper, "Trial and Triumph, the Impact of the Revolutionary War on the Baltimore Merchants," *ibid.* p. 308 (whether privateering made or lost money cannot be demonstrated).

19. Chancery records place the south end of Yellott's warehouse "near Calvert Street in Baltimore, Hollingsworth's wharf." Yellott first leased and later bought the land from John Beale Bordley. Yellott bequeathed the lot and warehouse to Francis Hollingsworth (Last Will & Testament of Jeremiah Yellott, Probate Records 1805, MSA).

20. "Notes on Dulaney's Valley By an Exile," p. 47.

21. Based on Cooper's compilation of the twenty most prominent Baltimore merchants of this period, ranked by shipping investments. See Cooper, "Trial and Triumph, The Impact of the Revolutionary War on the Baltimore Merchants" in Eller, ed., *Chesapeake Bay in the American Revolution*, p. 307. See also J. Thomas Sharf, *History of Maryland* (Philadelphia: Louis Everts & Sons, 1879), p. 103 (Yellott was among the most prominent Baltimore shipowners and traders).

22. *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, 27 February 1781; Marriage license dated 22 February 1781, Marriage Records 1781, MSA.

23. Last Will & Testament of Jeremiah Yellott, Probate Records 1805, MSA.

24. Grantor/Grantee Index, Land Records 1783, MSA.

25. Stuart Bruchey, *Robert Oliver: Merchant of Baltimore 1783-1819* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1956), p. 124.

26. "Notes on Dulaney's Valley By an Exile," p. 47. Captain Yellott's brother John founded the line of Yellotts which thrives in Maryland to this day.

27. Michael Palmer, *Stoddert's War: Naval Operations During the Quasi-War With France* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1987), pp. 3-6.

28. Compilation of Letters of Marque Granted to American Vessels, Dudley W. Knox, ed., *Naval Operations, The Quasi-War With France* (7 vols.; Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1935), 7:376-438 (hereafter *Quasi-War*).

29. Palmer, *Stoddert's War*, pp. 12-13. See also Stoddert to Yellott, 18 and 22 June 1798, *Quasi-War*, 1:123, 127.

30. Adams to Stoddert, 16 June 1798, *ibid.*, 1:319.

31. Stoddert to Adams, 30 July 1798; Stoddert to Yellott, 26 June 1798, 24 July 1798, and 30 July 1798, *ibid.*, 1:128, 239, 255, 257.

32. Stoddert to Bankson, 10 December 1798, *ibid.*, 2:80.

33. Truxton to Yellott, 26 August 1798; Truxton's *Circular to Masters of Ships Desiring Convoy*, 26 August 1798, *ibid.*, 1:341-42.

34. Truxton to Stoddert, 9 October 1798, *ibid.*, 1:508.

35. Stoddert to Yellott, 26 June 1798, *ibid.*, 1:146.

36. In particular Truxton urged against overloading the vessels with heavy cannon, which would injure "the sailing qualities of these sharp built vessels... as their swiftness will be of the greatest consequence in the West Indies and on our coast...." Truxton wrote that "much greater execution is done by a few pieces of artillery well served..." (Truxton to Yellott, 26 October 1798, *ibid.*, 1:563).

37. Palmer describes the burned hull of the *Philadelphia* lying sunk in Tripoli harbor as a monument to Stoddert's foolish bureaucratic pride in insisting on sending large vessels on missions for which they were not suited (Palmer, *Stoddert's War*, p. 167).

38. Stoddert to Yellott, 25 March 1799, *Quasi-War* 2:514; Griffith, *Annals*, p. 144.

39. Stoddert to Yellott, 1 October 1799, *Quasi-War*, 2:244.

40. Stoddert to Yellott, 25 October 1799, *ibid.*, 2:322. Captain Phillips's reassignment from *Baltimore* to little *Enterprise* might have been viewed as a demotion for allowing a British frigate to board the *Baltimore* and impress five American seamen, which a Baltimore newspaper called "a surprising insult to our flag" (*Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, 21 December 1798).

41. Edward Stevens to Silas Talbot, 1 January 1800, *Quasi-War*, 5:1-4; Palmer, *Stoddert's War*, p. 166.

42. Palmer, *Stoddert's War*, pp. 166, 238.

43. Stoddert to John Stricker, 26 March 1803, *Naval Documents Related to the United States War with the Barbary Powers* (6 vols.; Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1940), 2:378.

44. Stoddert to Yellott, 5 September 1799 and 23 September 1799, *Quasi-War*, 4:161, 219-20.

45. *Ibid.*, 4:289.

46. Bruchey, *Robert Oliver*, pp. 365-370.

47. *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, 21 December 1798.

48. *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, 23 December 1798. Oliver identified his assailants as Capt. Phillip Graybell and Thomas Rutter.

49. "Extracts From the Diary of William Faris of Annapolis, Maryland, January 4th 1792-August 9th 1804," *MdHM*, 28 (1933): 230 (reporting Oliver killed Smith); Rev. J. Bend to Rev. William Duke, 27 December 1798, Maryland Diocesan Archives, MdHS (asserting Smith killed Thompson).

50. *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, 31 December 1798.

51. Rev. J. Bend to Rev. William Duke, 9 April 1802, 29 April 1802, and 9 June 1802, Maryland Diocesan Archives, MdHS. The dispute is recounted in Francis F. Beirne, *St. Paul's Parish Baltimore: A Chronicle of the Mother Church* (Baltimore: Horn-Shaffer Co., 1967), p. 51.

52. Members of the subscription committee besides Yellott were John Scott, William Jolley, Hezekiah Walters, Josias Penington, Simon Wilmer, and James Cornish, incorporated as trustees for St. Peter's by Act of Assembly, 9 January 1803.

53. "Notes On Dulaney's Valley By an Exile," p. 9.

54. Sharf, *History of Maryland*, p. 522.

55. *Maryland Churchman*, February 1903, p. 385, Maryland Diocesan Archives MdHS. See also Last Will & Testament of Jeremiah Yellott, Probate Records 1805, MSA.

56. Sharf, *History of Maryland*, p. 579; Griffith, *Annals*, pp. 120, 129, 145.

57. Last Will & Testament of Jeremiah Yellott, Probate Records 1805, MSA.

58. Bruchey, *Robert Oliver*, pp. 19-20.

59. Accounting, Estate of Jeremiah Yellott, Probate Administrative Records 1805, MSA.

60. *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, 8 February 1805.

61. Ships' Registries 1819, National Archives, Washington D.C. The Yellott's specifications were one deck, two masts, length ninety-three feet, breadth twenty-one feet and ten inches, depth nine feet, 195 tons, "sharp built with a square stern, a round tuck and an (unintelligible) gallery." Her maiden voyage was noted in the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, 30 September 1819, and 15 November 1819. The vessel was sold in Cuba.

62. McKim's Yellott was a single deck, two-masted schooner of 178 tons, length ninety-three feet, breadth twenty-two feet, depth nine feet, no galleries, as cited in the Ships' Registries 1826, National Archives, Washington D.C.. Accounts of her record-setting voyages appear in *Niles Weekly Register*, 18 August 1827.

63. "Notes on Dulaney's Valley By an Exile," p. 47.

Marylanders on the Mexican Border, 1916-1917

MERLE T. COLE

Several photographs recently located in the Maryland National Guard archives illustrate the service men of the Old Line state performed on the Mexican border just before America entered World War I. These exceptionally high-quality photographs were taken by Maj. Gen. Donald Wilson, at that time a sergeant with Company H, 5th Maryland Infantry. As a lieutenant Wilson later served in France with the 115th Infantry. He accepted a commission with the army air service in September 1920 and during World War II held a number of critical posts, rising to deputy chief of air staff, army air forces. Promoted to major general in March 1945, he ended the war in command of the Army Air Forces Center at Orlando, Florida.¹ In 1916 then-sergeant Wilson performed an invaluable service both by taking the photographs and by carefully captioning them.

A few words will help to place these excellent photographs in historical perspective. By 1911 the Mexican Revolution was turning into a prolonged bloodbath, sparking a series of international crises that nearly drew the United States into war with its southern neighbor.² American armed intervention ranged from cross-border pursuit of raider bands and support of opposing parties to a lengthy occupation of Vera Cruz in 1914. About 60 percent of the regular army was soon concentrated along the Mexican border, with a corresponding heightening of war tensions. The proximate cause of the national guard mobilization was Pancho Villa's raid on the tiny border town of Columbus, New Mexico, on the night of 9 March 1916. Retaliation came quickly. The very next day, Brig. Gen. John J. Pershing was ordered to form a provisional division of about 12,000 regulars to pursue Villa's band into Mexico and end his cross-border depredations. The first elements of the so-called Punitive Expedition entered Chihuahua on 15 March.

Mexican resentment against the United States, and particularly against the Punitive Expedition, escalated alarmingly. On 8 May, senior army commanders in Texas telegraphed the secretary of war urging that the national guards of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona be mobilized to strengthen the regular army. President Wilson so ordered the next day, and approximately 5,260 guardsmen were called up. On 17 June, Washington learned of a Mexican ultimatum warning Pershing

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that American units in Mexico would thereafter be permitted to move in one direction only—north. Troops moving in any other direction would be subject to attack. Pershing retorted that the United States government had not restricted his movements, and that he would move wherever necessary to pursue bandits or acquire information about them.

Should Mexico declare war, the available American troop strength was clearly inadequate for defending the border, much less for conducting offensive operations. Since the only existing military reserve was the national guard, President Wilson ordered forces of the remaining states into federal service on 18 June. Guardsmen were ordered to assemble at their armories on 19 June, then to concentrate at a central camp in each state before moving to the border. By midnight on Independence Day the guards of fourteen states had arrived, and by the end of the month some 112,000 men were assembled at San Antonio, Brownsville, and El Paso, Texas, and at Douglas, Arizona. Forty thousand more guardsmen stood by in state camps. No national guard units actually crossed the border or fought raider parties. Two infantry regiments (the 1st New Mexico and 2nd Massachusetts) were assigned to the Punitive Expedition but spent their time guarding the expedition's base camp at Columbus. Several individual guardsmen did enter Mexico on various duties.

On the day of the presidential call, Maryland Adjutant General Henry M. Warfield immediately telegraphed instructions to Brig. Gen. Charles D. Gaither, 1st Brigade commander, to assemble all national guard land units in their armories, recruit units up to minimal table of organization strength, arrange troop subsistence, and provide training while awaiting orders to concentrate at a single camp. The strength and organization of Maryland National Guard land units on 18 June is shown in the following table.

All of these troops were mustered into federal service except the 1st Separate Company, Infantry (Colored) and 1st Company, Coast Artillery Corps. The black soldiers went to a state encampment at the Saunders Range near Glen Burnie (18-27 May 1916) while the coast artillerymen trained at Fort Howard (17-31 August 1916). Most staff, corps, and departmental officers were also excluded from the muster. The central mobilization camp was established at Laurel, where all units except Battery A had arrived by 25 June. The field artillery, delayed by late delivery of personal equipment and battery supplies, arrived on 29 June. The 1st Infantry entrained for Texas on 30 June. Other units followed on 5 July, except for Battery A, which departed 6 July for the field artillery camp of instruction at Tobyhanna, Pennsylvania. Thanks to intensive recruitment, a total of 3,382 Maryland soldiers were mustered into federal service by 5 July. But an intensive recruiting effort launched after the units had departed, and using federalized national guard staff officers, proved unsuccessful and was terminated after only two months.³

Conditions along the frontier and inside Chihuahua became increasingly confrontational, leading to some actual fighting between Mexican government troops and the Punitive Expedition (most notably at Carrizal). A joint Mexican-American

ORGANIZATION AND STRENGTH OF THE
MARYLAND NATIONAL GUARD
(LESS NAVAL MILITIA)
(As of 18 June 1917)

Unit	Home Station	Officers	Enlisted	Total
Staff Departments	Baltimore (a)	11	0	11
Headquarters,				
1st Brigade	Baltimore	2	0	2
1st Infantry	Various (b)	52	759	811
4th Infantry	Baltimore	50	575	625
5th Infantry	Baltimore	48	623	671
1st Separate Company,				
Infantry (Colored)	Baltimore	3	65	68
Troop A, Cavalry	Pikesville	3	62	65
Battery A,				
Field Artillery	Baltimore	5	124	129
1st Company, Coast				
Artillery Corps	Baltimore	3	65	68
Field Hospital No. 1	Baltimore	4	33	37
Ambulance				
Company No. 1	Baltimore	3	30	33
Total		184	2,336	2,520

(a) Most staff officers were attached to 1st Brigade Headquarters; a few were assigned to the Adjutant General's Office in Annapolis.

(b) The 1st Regiment's units were scattered across the breadth of Maryland: Hagerstown (Headquarters and Company B), Frederick (Company A), Cambridge (Company C), Bel Air (Company D), Elkton (Company E), Hyattsville (Company F), Cumberland (Company G), Westminster (Company H and Band), Salisbury (Company I), Silver Spring (Company K), Crisfield (Company L) and Annapolis (Company M and Machine Gun Company).

Sources: Maryland War Records Commission, *Maryland in the World War, 1917-1919: Military and Naval Service Records* (Baltimore, 1933), 1:98; Maryland Adj. Gen., *Report of the Adjutant General, State of Maryland for 1916-1917* (Annapolis, 1 Dec 1917), pp. 22-38.

commission seeking agreement on a procedure for evacuating Pershing's force broke up in January 1917 without attaining its goal. But relations with Germany were deteriorating, prompting Wilson to order the recall of Pershing's soldiers to the United States. The withdrawal began on 30 January and ended on 5 February, and national guard demobilization accelerated accordingly.⁴

Maryland troops were discharged over a six-month period, beginning with the 4th Infantry on 26 September 1916. The Baltimore unit was quickly followed by Battery A (6 October), 1st Brigade Headquarters (3 November), 1st Infantry (4 November), Troop A (23 December), Field Hospital No. 1 and Ambulance Company No. 1 (6 January 1917), and 5th Infantry (24 February). There was only one reported casualty—"the accidental drowning of one member of Company C, Fifth Maryland Infantry." Total actual strength of the Maryland National Guard upon muster out was 3,055 officers and men. The adjutant general noted that the 4th Infantry was mustered out with 61 fewer enlisted men than when it mustered in, and attributed the reduced strength to dependency discharges, transfer to the national guard reserve, enlistment in the regular army, and other causes.⁵

The lot of the average guardsman had been "a daily grind of drill, drill, shoot, shoot and fatigue, fatigue and more fatigue. There were long marches, designed to harden the men and instill march discipline so that they could be maneuvered if war should come."⁶ Most guardsmen spent nine months on the border. The mobilization proved an especially useful experience for officers and state staffs which had to direct the mobilization, and for general officers who were handling large numbers of men for the first time. But the experience "cooled Guard enthusiasm" until the imminence of war became evident.⁷

In fact, most guardsmen barely had time to unpack their kit. President Wilson ordered a series of remobilizations before requesting Congress to declare war against Germany. By 15 July, 44 percent of the national guard had been federalized. On that day Wilson called up the entire guard of eleven states, followed by the remaining states ten days later.⁸ Within Maryland, national guard infantry were called to either state or federal active duty beginning on 22 March 1917. They were assigned responsibility for protecting railroad bridges and tunnels, munitions plants, and public utilities from sabotage, until being ordered to Camp McClellan, Alabama, in mid-September for training prior to shipping out for France as part of the new American Expeditionary Force.⁹

Back along the border, raider and bandit incursions continued on a diminished scale until early 1919. The most violent incident occurred in August 1918—a pitched battle at Nogales, Arizona. During the Battle of Juarez (June 1919), rifle and artillery fire from rival Mexican factions fell on El Paso, prompting "the last major American military venture into Mexico."¹⁰

Company H camp at Wind Mill Ranch, Texas, where the Marylanders were posted during October 1916. From left: officers' tent, mess hall, and soldiers' tents. This area was so isolated that the home of a Mexican fence rider "and the one house at McFarlane, 10 miles north, are the only two houses between Indio and Blocker's, about 40 miles."

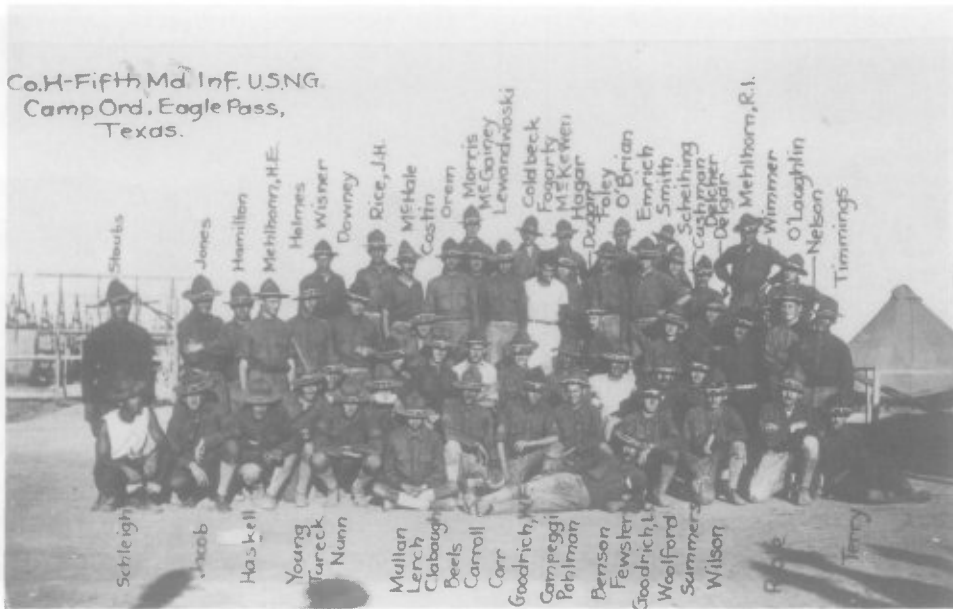


Maryland soldiers beautifying their company street at Camp Ord, Eagle Pass, Texas, with elaborate stone design in July 1916. "A few days after this tedious job was completed a storm washed away so much that it was all removed to better the appearance," Wilson noted.

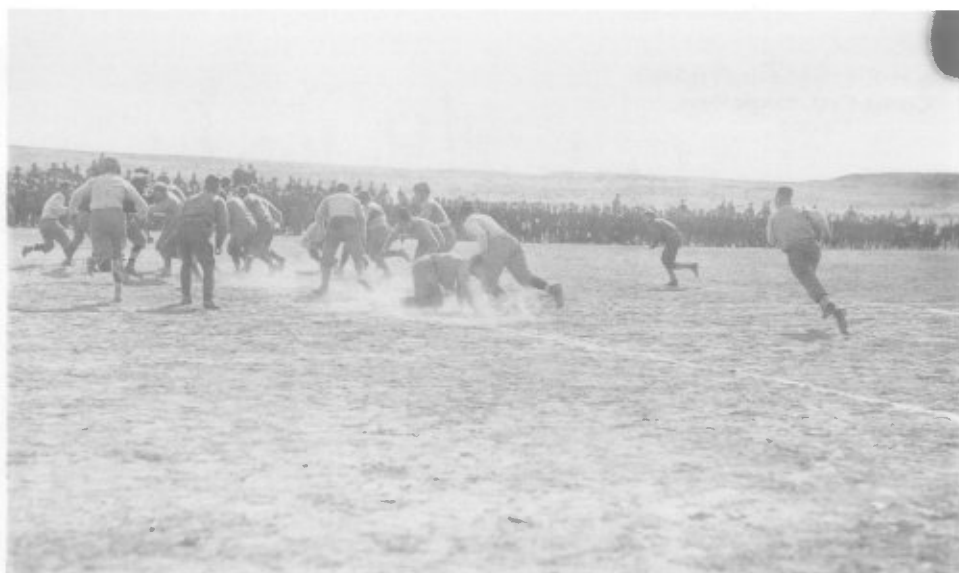
Damage to Company H's area of Camp Ord by the storm of 17 August 1916. The mess halls of Companies G and H are collapsed in background. Wilson noted that he had a large wooden box built locally for \$10 to store clothes and equipment and that the box "paid for itself" by keeping his things dry when his tent was blown over at 2 A.M. that morning.



Maryland infantry on a "hike out Laredo Road" from Eagle Pass (a toughening march) in July 1916, with animals and troops stretching to the barren skyline.



Top: Enlisted men of Company H "in readiness to receive their first Government pay" at Camp Ord on 20 August 1916. *Left:* Sgt. Donald Wilson, age twenty-four, November 1916. Probably taken near an artillery aiming point on the hill crest overlooking Eagle Pass and Piedras Negras. *Right:* Company H soldiers were detailed to guard the international railroad bridge over the Rio Grande between Eagle Pass and Piedras Negras in August 1916. This photograph shows the "sentry squad on guard at railroad wye near bridge." Top, from left: Pvt. T.P. Mullan, Cpl. Leroy K. Thompson, Pvt. McKewen, Sgt. W.H. Sellman. Bottom, from left: Pvt. Walter O'Loughlin, Pvt. H.G. Costin, Pvt. Carr.



The “memorable” football game between Maryland and Tennessee infantry to decide the championship of the Eagle Pass District. Camp Ord, Eagle Pass, Texas, February 1917, just prior to the 5th Maryland Infantry’s departure for Baltimore. Unfortunately, Wilson did not record who won the title.



Pvt. Edward H. Nunn and Cpl. J. Hubuer Rice on guard duty. Wilson photographed four wrecked freight cars at the Texas end of the bridge to illustrate the level of tension in the area: “When there was danger of a break with Mexico a rail was removed here to prevent the delivery of [troop-carrying] cars from Mexico. This accident was caused by someone’s oversight and not by the Mexicans.”



Wilson took this photo of Mexican cowboys from "Kennedy's Ranch" en route to Bluffs Crossing to receive cattle from Mexico. The cowboys—led by Kennedy's brother-in-law—were enticed into Mexico and captured by bandits. Kennedy arrived the next day and wanted soldiers from Troop H, 14th U.S. Cavalry (stationed at Wind Mill Ranch with Company H) to help recover the brother-in-law but without informing military headquarters. The troopers "decided Kennedy's deal was not entirely 'on the square' and left him to work out his own problem, since he wanted secret assistance." (November 1916)

NOTES

1. On Wilson's career see photo captions, General Order No. 32, 11 April 1917 in *Report of the Adjutant General, State of Maryland for 1916-1917* (Annapolis, 1917), p. 161 (cited hereafter as *RAG*), and Maryland Historical Society, War Records Division, *Maryland in World War II* (4 vols.; Baltimore, 1950), 1:279-80. Wilson mailed the photographs from his residence in Carmel, California, in September 1971.

2. Border unrest and mobilization are summarized from Clarence C. Clendenen, *Blood on the Border: The United States Army and the Mexican Irregulars* (New York: Macmillan, 1969), pp. 116-356. See also Maurice Matloff, ed., *American Military History* (Washington: Office of the Chief of Military History, U.S. Army, 1969), pp. 355-56, and John K. Mahon, *History of the Militia and the National Guard* (New York: Macmillan, 1983), p. 151.

3. State of Maryland, War Records Commission, *Maryland in the World War, 1917-1919: Military and Naval Service Records* (2 vols.; Baltimore, 1933), 1:98; *RAG*,

pp. 5-7, 23. Clendenen, (*Blood on the Border*, p. 294) states that most national guard artillery units from the eastern states were sent to Tobyhanna instead of the Mexican border. Mahon (*History of the Militia and National Guard*, p. 151) states that federal authorities purposely limited participation of black national guard units.

4. Clendenen, *Blood on the Border*, pp. 275-76, 299-313, 337-39; Matloff, *American Military History*, p. 356.

5. *Maryland in the World War*, 1:98; *RAG*, pp. 7-10, 24. These sources conflict as to Battery A's discharge. *Maryland in the World War* gives the date as 26 September, whereas *RAG* (p. 8) gives 6 October as used herein. An article in the Maryland Military Department house organ states, "One Marylander was shot at when he crossed the [international] bridge to Mexico. This was the limit of combat engagements for the FreeState [sic] Guardsmen." The article provided no details of this incident and the author found no further confirmation. "Marylanders in Battle: Preview to the Meuse Argonne," *FreeState Guardian* (Winter 1978): 3. There were many complaints from guardsmen about dependent hardship. On 18 July the secretary of war authorized release of guardsmen with dependent responsibilities who applied for discharge. A few weeks later, Congress passed a bill for financial assistance of guardsmen with dependents. This measure "helped morale and also provided a precedent for similar legislation in more recent wars" (Clendenen, *Blood on the Border* p. 294). Later figures revealed that about 25 percent of guardsmen were found physically unfit for active duty, about 10 percent never bothered to answer the call, and about 17 percent were discharged because of dependents. Mahon, *History of the Militia and the National Guard*, p. 152.

6. Clendenen, *Blood on the Border*, p. 292. Interestingly, Clendenen also reports (p. 293) a hurricane striking lower Texas, with driving rain and high winds lasting only a few hours, ending by dawn. But he gives the date of this storm as mid-July 1916 rather than mid-August as Wilson's photo captions document.

7. Mahon, *History of the Militia and the National Guard*, pp. 155-56; Clendenen, *Blood on the Border*, pp. 293-94.

8. Mahon, *History of the Militia and the National Guard*, p. 156.

9. *Maryland in the World War*, 1: 99-101, *RAG*, pp. 10-13.

10. Clendenen, *Blood on the Border*, pp. 342-56.

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COMPILERS

From 1975 on, the *Maryland Historical Magazine* has published regular compilations of books, articles and doctoral dissertations relating to Maryland history. The following list includes material published during 1990, as well as earlier works that have been brought to our attention. For recent publications in genealogy and family history, see the *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin*.

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Book Reviews

The Patapsco, Baltimore's River of History. By Paul J. Travers. (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1990. Pp. xiv, 220. Photographs, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$22.95.)

At last a book about the Patapsco. The "Rivers of America" series of the 1930s gave us *Rivers of the Eastern Shore* in 1944 and Frederick Gutheim chronicled *The Potomac* in 1968. But no one tackled the river that made Baltimore a viable place for a maritime city. Many phases of local history bring the researcher into contact with this entirely intra-state river whether the subject is exploration, settlement, transportation, commerce, or industry. There is both the inland, fall-line river and its immense tidewater estuary. Paul Travers covers the entire subject. As a park ranger, he has traveled the ravines and valleys of the inland river, from its farm pond source at Parr's Spring to its tidewater termination. He is apparently also a boater. The wide Patapsco brought 2,000,000 immigrants ashore in Baltimore to fan out into the rest of the country but the narrow Patapsco powered dozens of mills, foundries, and furnaces, and its rocky canyons provided immense amounts of granite for major architectural monuments. Travers describes all the localities and gets all his dates right. He did not forget the Walters quarry at Granite, Elba Furnace at Sykesville, or Bloede Dam at Ilchester. He has the right date—so often fudged or erroneous—for the demolition of the B&O Viaduct Hotel at Relay (1950). Yet the North Branch, home of paper, flour, and textile mills is seldom mentioned. Local historians are often betrayed by the library's vertical files, but the only bit of hokum picked up by *The Patapsco* is the mention of Jefferson Davis's daughter as a student at Patapsco Female Seminary.

This is a well written book full of interesting details. There is a bibliography of rich sources, especially newspaper features of many decades ago that local historians could return to with reward.

The history of American rivers all too often has been a chronicle of their degradation from a fish-filled Eden to a life-threatening sewer. The Patapsco has been to the brink of sewer-hood but Travers reports slight progress toward restoration; in places there is actually "fair" fishing. In once blighted shoreline areas, crabs have been reported again. History and ecology are now inexorably linked as co-sciences.

The only problem with this book is the poor reproduction of graphics and photographs, not even up to the standards of 1895. There is no need to publish black-and-white illustrations with a polluting fog of gray background tone. Drawings can be copied onto lithographic film, high-contrast film, or photostat paper without picking up any gray background whatsoever. On the other hand, the dust jacket provides an attractive view of the inner harbor when the tallest structures in sight were the towers of St. Alphonsus and Central Presbyterian Churches.

The Patapsco is a good book to read, a handy reference source, and probably a gold mine for future term papers and homework assignments. Now for an energetic chronicler to do the linear portrait of *The Patuxent*.

JOHN W. McGRAIN

Baltimore County Office of Planning and Zoning

Small Town Destiny: The Story of Five Small Towns Along the Potomac Valley. By Gilbert Gude. (Gaithersburg, Md.: Lomond Press, 1989. Pp. 130. Illustrations, index. \$29.95 cloth; \$19.50 paper.)

The Potomac River and its tributaries drain a vast area that stretches from the Fairfax Stone, where it rises high in the Appalachian Mountains, to the Chesapeake Bay, where it merges with the waters of the world. There are several ways to explore such a territory—probably the most common would be to set out equipped with a powerful telescope. Gilbert Gude has chosen, however, to conduct his exploration of the Potomac Valley by examining carefully selected “samples” under his microscope. By such individual studies of the towns and communities that are built on the Potomac’s shores and are bound by certain riverine traditions, he has evolved a collective portrait of the people and the places where they live.

One complaint that might be registered against this slim volume is that *Small Town Destiny* is not long enough. In preparing us to share in his experiment in writing local history, Congressman Gude describes briefly the several epochs that constitute the period about which we have some knowledge. For me, these sections are as tantalizing as they are fascinating because they suggest the wealth of history that exists. There is not, however, the space to expand it beyond a skeletal outline that includes the native Americans, or Indians, the early European settlers, the early days of the United States and the stirring days of the Civil War when the Valley was the battleground and river fords and crossings were the prizes of war. Obviously, such stories would take volumes to recount in detail, and that is not Gilbert Gude’s mission. Rather, he is preparing the background against which he will project his microscopic slides. Perhaps he is also aiming at one of literature’s higher goals, which is to stimulate a desire to know more and thereby to read more deeply in other works on the subject. If so, my complaint will have been converted into a compliment.

But the principal burden of this work is to introduce people who are not shadows cast by past history, but who are living the life of the Potomac Valley today. He has chosen five river towns—Brunswick, Shepherdstown, Hancock, Williamsport and Paw Paw—as his specimens, and he subjects them to the kind of scrutiny that a microscope can provide. We meet people where they live, where they work, where they worship, and where they play. The individuals introduced in this way each have some special quality that attracted Gilbert Gude’s attention and makes them attractive to us. Since they are of our day and generation we can recognize them and understand them. Whether readers in future generations will find it easy to

know them in a changing world is a speculation that need not trouble today's readers.

For those who know the towns of the Potomac this book will be a sentimental journey. For those who are strangers, Gilbert Gude will show them the way to an unusual society, bound and shaped by the proximity of a great river, and offer them an opportunity to enrich their lives with a visit to a unique part of America.

CHARLES McC. MATHIAS

Chevy Chase

A Social History of Maryland Lawyers, 1660-1775. By Alan F. Day. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989. Pp. 739. Appendix, bibliography. \$140.)

In the years between 1660 and 1775, 429 men were admitted as attorneys to the courts of Maryland. Of the 429, three each came from the Chase and Dulany families; four were Dents; five were Bordleys. But perhaps the family with the greatest number of attorneys was the Goldsborough family, with six. The lawyers came from varying backgrounds, some, like the Goldsboroughs, the Tilghmans, and William Bladen, were descendants of the English landed gentry, while a few others arrived as indentured servants.

The author, who is senior lecturer at the University of Edinburgh and who was a co-editor of *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1634-1789* (Edward C. Papenfuss et al., eds. [2 vols; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979, 1985]), compiled this volume for his Ph.D. dissertation. He has written chapters dealing with the structure of the Maryland court system and the admission of lawyers; a typology of lawyers—their origins, opportunity and education; the books they acquired, their fees and income, private and public concerns, and their role in the community. A number of charts and tables summarize his findings. In 1720 Thomas Bordley is shown to have had 169 civil cases in the Provincial Court and 170 in Anne Arundel, while Thomas Humphreys handled 2 cases in the first and 3 in the latter. Another table lists those Maryland lawyers who were also members of the Inns of Court. Edmund Key was a member of both the Middle Temple and Inner Temple, and unlike most of the lawyers shown on the chart, was admitted a member of these Inns after he began practicing in Maryland.

A number of lawyers had law libraries, and a table covering five and one-half pages gives the name of the lawyer, the date of his library, the number of law titles, the assessed value of legal and non-legal books, and the library's total value. Four Maryland lawyers left libraries in which individual titles were named (and sometimes valued) in the inventories of their estates.

The last two chapters place the lawyers in the communities in which they lived. The author has compiled tables showing the amount of land held by lawyers; of 146 professionals, 49 held 1500 acres of land or more. In the chapter "The Lawyer in the Community," Dr. Day discusses prejudices against lawyers as expressed by individuals and by the press, attempts to regulate fees charged by lawyers, and the lack of veneration accorded to the law and its institutions. One cannot imagine

lawyers of today engaging in such antics as throwing law books at a justice, or commenting on the fitness of judges. The author points out that as the eighteenth century progressed, public attitudes towards lawyers changed, and many planters urged their sons to follow the profession.

The bulk of the book is taken up by a biographical appendix, outlining their legal careers. Each lawyer is assigned a category such as "professional lawyer," "planter-attorney," "merchant-attorney," etc. Where available, data is given on the courts in which a lawyer practiced, the date and place of birth and/or the date of arrival in the colony, residence, social and family background, education, books owned, marriage(s), political participation, occupation, officeholding, wealth, landholdings, and miscellaneous notes. Each item is documented.

Dr. Day's book is a valuable addition to the library of social and political history of Maryland. The author has compiled a fascinating study of the practice and practitioners of law in colonial Maryland and enhanced the usefulness of the book by including material on individual lawyers. Anyone considering a similar study on other groups would do well to study Dr. Day's methods.

ROBERT W. BARNES
Perry Hall

Robert Bolling Woos Anne Miller: Love and Courtship in Colonial Virginia, 1760. Edited by J. A. Leo Lemay. (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1990. Pp. vii, 188. Textual notes, glossary, bibliography, index. \$22.95.)

This scholarly study is devoted to the slender, "circumstantial" diary kept by Robert Bolling (1738-1775) from January to September of 1760 to record the details of his courtship with his cousin Anne Miller in the Petersburg area of Virginia. Lemay, an English professor at the University of Delaware who has distinguished himself for his research on Benjamin Franklin and who is the author of one book on Maryland (*Men of Letters in Colonial Maryland*), located the unprocessed manuscript at the College of William and Mary in 1980.

Both Robert Bolling and Anne Miller were great grandchildren of the emigrant Robert Bolling by different wives. The emigrant's first wife was the granddaughter of the famous Pocahontas, and thus Bolling (who later named a son of his own Powhatan and a daughter Pocahontas) belonged to the "red" or "Indian" branch of the family, while Anne Miller, descended from the emigrant's second wife, was a "white" Bolling. Robert was twenty-one at the start of their courtship, and Anne Miller was sixteen, considered too young by her father to wed. When her father, a native Scot, resolved to return to his homeland and to take his daughter with him, the courtship came to an end.

Sorely disappointed, Bolling took comfort in a maxim from Horace that endurance alleviates that which cannot be changed. Besides quotations from Horace, Virgil and Molière, the diary includes references to Battista Guarini, Giovanni Boccaccio and Torquato Tasso. Based on this and further references found in

Bolling's poetry, Lemay observes that Bolling was probably the foremost enthusiast of Italian literature in colonial America.

In his introduction, which comprises approximately the same number of pages as the diary itself, Lemay argues that it compares favorably with the finest of our known colonial journals (those by Mary Rowlandson [1676], Sarah Kemble Knight [1704-1705], William Byrd [1729], and Dr. Alexander Hamilton [1744]) and then proceeds to discuss the relative merits of each of the five works. Bolling's journal certainly deserves to be credited as the finest description of colonial American courtship available to us at this time.

What, then, was courtship in colonial America like? There were endless balls (with a minuet, reels and jigs) and social events, as well as opportunities for being alone together. It is evident that caressing and prolonged close contact did take place. Jealousy, then as now, played an important role, and although Bolling liked to think that the success or failure of his courtship depended solely on the couple involved, he learned that the cooperation of the girl's father was absolutely essential.

Courtship seems to have involved more of the community in the 1700s than today. There was an entire network of persons and relatives (whom Lemay meticulously identifies in a glossary) working for each candidate and sometimes switching roles. For example, Anne's aunt, Mrs. Susanna (Bolling) Bolling, tells Bolling that Anne will never challenge her father's opposition to the match and then denies having said such a thing.

The longest single section of the book is Lemay's harvest of Bolling's courtship poetry gleaned from an impressive corpus of magazine publications. The editor emphasizes that these seventeen supplementary poems on the courtship are "semifictions" (p. 79) expressing emotion rather than fact. In "Hymn to Melancholy," for example, Bolling laments the loss of his love (called Stella here), describes the guilt-ridden life of the "trembly culprit" who took her away from him, and ends with the magnanimous invocation, "O may she, in each climate, find, / A blessing, ne'er for me design'd, / With health of body, peace of mind!" (p. 92).

The caliber of Bolling's poetry, according to Lemay, is good rather than great. Consistent with the literary conventions of the times, he imitated models, and these were primarily from the Italian Renaissance, especially Petrarch, Ludovico Ariosto, Gabriello Chiabrera, Pietro Metastasio and the anti-Petrarchan satirist Francesco Berni. Six of the seventeen poems included here appeared in London magazines during Bolling's lifetime, and Lemay suspects that others may have been printed in American magazines impossible in modern times to locate. The notes accompanying each of the poems, which translate Italian quotations, identify Italian and classical sources, and thoroughly analyze the metric structure of each work, are consistently excellent.

Robert Bolling died suddenly at the age of thirty-six on July 21, 1775 while a member of the third Virginia Convention in Richmond. Exemplifying the characteristic *noblesse oblige* of the Virginia aristocrat, he would have been, it seems reasonable to assume, a leading Revolutionary statesman if he had survived. And now after 230 years, his diary and poems have been rescued from oblivion for us

to delight in their wealth of detail and to clarify for us the attitudes and customs of our ever elusive past.

JACK SHREVE
Allegany Community College

Winter Friends: Women Growing Old in the New Republic, 1785-1835. By Terri L. Premo. (Women in American History Series. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990. Pp. xiv, 199. \$24.95.)

Winter Friends surveys the world of aging women during the early republic. Author Terri Premo generally tends to focus on urban women from New England and Pennsylvania, because of the "extraordinary quantity and range of manuscripts" (p. 6) available about them. Intent on illustrating these women's "enduring sense of self," Premo takes two different tacks: first scrutinizing their relationships as shown in letters, diaries, and memoirs, then examining in a second section the values revealed in these writings.

Although Premo frames her study in terms of female cultural history, the first part of her book explores various aspects of family history, such as the interactions of women with husbands, adult children, grandchildren, and other kin. These chapters contain numerous interesting insights, as the author studies not only married women but also the never-married and the widowed. Indeed her account of the lives of several spinsters follows them from their early twenties through much of their lives. Attempting to characterize the kinds of dependence (largely on relatives) and independence available to married and unmarried women, she documents a wide range of family interactions and women's choices. Here some readers will wish that she had utilized additional kinds of sources, most especially legal ones such as wills, deeds, and tax lists to indicate to what extent women's perceived and material dependencies coincided. And in some sections other readers will wish that she had pushed her own evidence further. Premo's section on grandmotherhood employs several sets of reminiscences which seem to show paternal grandmothers as far grander, more awe-inspiring figures than indulgent maternal grandmothers—provocative images that deserve more substantial commentary.

The second half of Premo's book—the exploration of discourses about aging and old age proves somewhat problematic. In addition to examining women's metaphors about aging, Premo wants to show the ideal behaviors for elderly women. But many of the strictures which she seems to believe peculiar to the aged—whether dark-colored dresses, cheerfulness, or even religious piety—appear more general and to have been associated with matronliness and adult status, whether the matron was twenty-five, forty-five, or sixty-five. Even young married women, especially those facing childbirth, strove for the "resignation in the face of death" (p. 166) she emphasizes among elderly women. Nonetheless, her concluding comparison of the lives of aged men and women, which convincingly sums up differences in relationships, religiosity, and roles between the sexes and shows how these persisted

through their lives, reminds the reader of some of the strongest parts of Premo's book.

JANE TURNER CENSER
George Mason University

Slave Law in the Americas. By Alan Watson. (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1990. Pp. xv, 179. Notes, index. \$25.)

Alan Watson is a distinguished Roman law scholar who has written extensively on the way in which legal systems borrow from other legal systems. In this slim volume he examines the influence of Roman law on the laws of slavery in the Americas, concluding that the Roman law heritage of the civil-law countries accounts for the major differences between the laws of slavery in Latin America and English America.

While acknowledging the impact on legal development of social, economic, political and religious factors, Professor Watson contends that the law has a large measure of autonomy. Thus similar laws may exist under quite different social and economic circumstances. "[T]he government is usually uninterested in the precise nature of most of the legal rules in operation." (p. 1). Legal rules are made largely by a legal elite—jurists in Roman law, professors in the civil law and judges in the common law systems. They use "legal logic" rather than directly examining the needs of the society. One aspect of that logic is borrowing—either using analogy within a legal system or taking from another legal system with high prestige. In that fashion the slave law of Latin America was profoundly affected by the reception of Roman law in the civil-law systems of the continent.

Chattel slavery was an established Roman institution which was not based on race. Slaves could be educated and could hold responsible positions. Although masters held legal title to assets amassed by slaves, slaves could purchase their freedom with those assets. Freed slaves could become citizens, and their children were free of restrictions. Unlike Roman slavery, slavery in the Americas was based on race. That fostered an ideology of racial inferiority which encouraged restrictions on manumission and discrimination against freed slaves. The laws of English America restricted manumission and discriminated against freed slaves far more than the laws of the rest of the Americas. Watson argues that the reception of Roman law explains this difference.

The chapters on the law of slavery in the Americas of Spain, England, France, Portugal, and Holland are short. For example, the chapter on England and slave law in America is twenty pages, focusing on South Carolina as the representative state. Watson limits his examination to the legal rules, and he admits it is difficult to deduce much about a society from an examination of its legal rules. Thus he avoids the controversy over the actual conditions of slavery in the Americas—the relative levels of cruelty of masters, relative levels of manumission or relative levels of racial prejudice. Within the limits he sets, Watson convincingly demonstrates the Roman law derivation of much of the law of slavery in the Americas.

Professor Watson is less persuasive in arguing that the reception of Roman law in England would have made the law of slavery in English America less racist. The crux of his argument is that because Roman law had a dominant influence on the laws of slavery in the colonies of the rest of America, "it would be presumptuous to believe that if Roman law had been received in England, Roman slave law would not have had a very powerful effect on the law of slavery in the English colonies and southern states" (p. 127). But that does not prove that the reception of Roman law would have affected the law of slavery in the different context of the English colonies. There are too many other candidates for explaining the differences in the laws of the different nations in the Americas. The influence of the church in Latin America, the existence of a poor white majority in English America, and differences in the social, political and economic traditions of the European nations may be equally or more important factors than the reception of Roman law.

Courts in English America looked to Roman law for many of the legal principles they applied. The restrictions on manumission and the limitations on free blacks were largely products of legislation rather than of the "legal elite." Under Watson's theory, government is responding to social forces when it does take an interest in legal rules. His book does not show how the reception of Roman law alone would have altered those social forces. What it does show is how the reception of Roman law affected the law of slavery in the rest of the Americas.

DAVID S. BOGEN

University of Maryland School of Law

Shield of Republic/Sword of Empire: A Bibliography of United States Military Affairs, 1783-1846. Compiled by John C. Fredriksen. (Bibliographies and Indexes in American History, No. 15. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1990. Pp. xiv, 446. Indexes. \$65.)

The United States has long had an ambiguous relationship with its armed forces. On the one hand there is a tradition of disliking the military and what it stands for, of feeling that citizen-soldiers can do just as well as professionals when war comes, and that the military is just an enormous drain on the public treasury. (The continuing defense procurement scandals certainly provide evidence for this last point.) On the other hand, the nation has depended upon the usually undermanned, underpaid, and undersupplied armed forces to protect it from foreign opponents and carry out national policy. This was just as true in the early portion of our country's history as it is today (see E. Wayne Carp's *To Starve the Army at Pleasure: Continental Army Administration and American Political Culture, 1775-1783* [North Carolina, 1984]).

The post-Revolutionary War era was a turbulent time in world as well as American history. Conflicts on the other side of the Atlantic (the Napoleonic Wars and skirmishes with the Tripolitan pirates) forced the American armed services to operate far from home. At the same time the fledgling U.S. military was heavily involved in the process of conquering a continent. As the author states, only World

War II can rival this period in terms of complexity and scope (p.xii). Because these were the years when many American military institutions and traditions were being established, they have been intensely studied by scholars.

This well-made, if somewhat expensive, bibliography contains 6,783 numbered citations to items on American military history of this period. The types of materials listed here include books, journal articles, theses, dissertations, and government documents, but no reference books. The contents are thoughtfully arranged in broad subject chapters, then further subdivided by specific topic. Author and subject indexes can aid one in locating a particular item. The Revolutionary and Mexican-American wars are not covered here; for entries on those conflicts one can consult Richard L. Blanco's *The War of the American Revolution: A Selected Annotated Bibliography of Published Sources* (Garland, 1984), and Norman E. Tutorow's *The Mexican-American War: An Annotated Bibliography* (Greenwood Press, 1981).

Those looking for specific items about Maryland will have to be satisfied with a relatively small number of citations. There are only six for the Battle of Baltimore, and "Maryland" does not appear in the Subject Index. (Maryland does not have a big place in U.S. military history.) One will have to peruse less-focused materials to discover information about Maryland history. Subject headings under which materials relating to Maryland might be found include "Fortifications," "Navy Yards," and the "Naval Academy." Much more information can be found in Robin Higham's *A Guide to the Sources of United States Military History* (Archon, 1975; supplements 1981, 1986), and Dwight L. Smith's *The War of 1812: An Annotated Bibliography* (Garland, 1985). But it is the advantage of having a wide range of material available in one place that makes this item so useful.

This book is a companion to the author's earlier *Free Trade and Sailors' Rights: A Bibliography of the War of 1812* (Greenwood Press, 1985). Together, their 12,000 entries provide fairly comprehensive coverage of this interesting historical period. The item under consideration should be a primary reference tool for researchers interested in this subject.

DANIEL K. BLEWETT

Eisenhower Library

Johns Hopkins University

The Frontier Republic: Ideology and Politics in the Ohio Country, 1780-1825. By Andrew R. L. Cayton. (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1986. Pp. xii, 197. Notes, index. \$9.50.)

This paperback edition of *The Frontier Republic* describes the political struggle between Federalists and Jeffersonian-Republicans in the Ohio Country. Although the Republican Party originated during the 1790s, radicals had embraced this ideology since the late 1770s. Radicals had disagreed with conservatives about democracy, the distribution of power, and the administration of territories. This is not a new perspective, as Merrill Jensen demonstrates in *The Articles of Confedera-*

tion. But Professor Cayton shows how Ohio politics illuminated the struggle between the first political parties for domination in the Old Northwest.

Cayton argues that Federalists on the local and national levels held visions different from early settlers, whom they called "squatters." These settlers had migrated west in search of political, social, and economic opportunities unavailable to them in organized states. They considered the West an "Empire of Liberty," at least for white males (p. 12). Cayton does not dispute their commitment to democracy. Rather, he points out that early white migrants "exhibited a style of behavior which involved denying the inherent superiority of any person or institution" (p. x). They "were eager to establish a world where a relatively open competition of talents among white males would be the primary path to wealth and success" (p. x). Even when these Southern migrants opposed slavery, they did so only to avoid competing with bond laborers. They were not offended by the subordination of non-whites.

Their Federalist rivals were also driven by economic interests. Most Ohio Federalists had invested in corporations such as the Ohio Company of Associates in order to direct development of the frontier. These entrepreneurs included territorial governor Arthur St. Clair, Mannaseh Cutler, and Winthrop Sargent, who consistently backed the Federalist program for expansion. They believed the national government would provide security, vital for the economic growth of the West. Leaders on the national level wanted to create a buffer to hostile foreign troops in the West and raise revenue for the new nation. Most Federalists considered "squatters" disruptive, and doubted whether they could entrust their lofty goals to "people of such dubious character and transient loyalty" (p. 13). Consequently, national and local Federalists conspired to weaken the influence of frontiersmen in Ohio.

Cayton exhibits Marietta as a model. "Mariettans firmly believed that by integrating themselves and the other residents of the Old Northwest into the national patronage system being developed by President George Washington...they could attain their goal of a profitable, stable, and harmonious society" (p. 34.). At first they faced difficult problems. Indians routed United States forces in 1790 and 1791. When in 1794 white Americans prevailed, settlers poured into the Ohio Country. By 1800 Federalists had succeeded in establishing an organized society in Marietta.

But Federalist control of Ohio politics soon collapsed. Republicans succeeded in making Ohio the seventeenth state in the Union in 1803. Federalists had opposed statehood, hoping to preserve the status quo. Republicans initiated reforms such as frequent elections to choose officeholders, a powerful legislature, a weak executive and judiciary, and state sovereignty. Although Cayton believes Republicans altered the structure of local politics, he suggests that moderate Republicans embraced Federalist visions. Ultimately, these groups coalesced, creating a society similar to the one envisioned by Federalists in the 1780s. As Cayton sees this union, they created "a heterogeneous society increasingly intertwined in the economic and political worlds of eastern America and Europe" (p. 109).

The Frontier Republic is an important book on politics during the formative years of the Northwest Territory. Students also interested in the experiences of non-whites will be disappointed. Although Cayton does not ignore the experiences of African and Native Americans, he does not go far enough in integrating their lives into the political fabric of the times. Certainly there were opportunities for more extensive discussions; but this is not his focus. He describes the political struggles of territorial leaders to establish a society based on Federalist or Republican principles.

STEPHEN MIDDLETON
North Carolina State University

Speculators and Slaves. By Michael Tadman. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989. Pp. 317. Appendix, bibliography, index. \$27.75.)

In the decade of the 1960s two important historical developments took place: an expanded research in African-American history and a heightened interest in quantitative techniques. Today with the sophisticated use of the computer these two fields have been joined, and the resulting monographs have shed new light on our past historical views in this field.

One of these monographs is a recent study entitled *Speculators and Slaves* by British historian Michael Tadman. His purpose has been to analyze the scale and organization of the antebellum interstate slave trade and to examine from a moral as well as an economic point of view the role of both the trader and the slave owner who sold his slaves in the interstate trade. Tadman's conclusions in both of these areas run counter to the "accommodation" studies of the 1970s that dealt with the slave trade and the master-slave relationship.

The author has divided his monograph into two parts. The first deals with the business of slave trading. Tadman makes three contentions concerning the trade: that it was greater than recent studies have suggested; that the overland shipment of slaves far exceeded shipment by water; and that the trade comprised the bulk of the interstate migration, from the upper South to the lower South, by a ratio of perhaps seven to three. The second half of the monograph deals with the effects of the trade on the lives of the planters and the slaves being sold. Themes covered include the breakup of slave family life, slave breeding (its practice was found to be minor), and the overall moral attitudes of both trader and owner-seller.

To support his findings the author relies on manifest lists of slave shipments to the South, an analysis of age structures among the slave population reported in the 1840-1860 censuses to reveal the heavy volume of movement southward, and an in-depth study of trading activities in South Carolina in the 1850s, which through mathematical extrapolation suggests that the volume of the trade for the entire South was much heavier than had been believed.

The author has taken on quite a task. Over sixty years of southern economic history is covered, and the complex theme of interstate slave trading is probed in great detail in a fifteen-state region, a region whose economic and demographic

diversity far outweighs its homogeneity. In spite of the pitfalls that await such a topic, Tadman has presented a believable case that lends credence to the thought that the domestic trade was larger than had been assumed and that the overland trade was also much larger than had been believed. Furthermore, his in-depth view of the trade in South Carolina, using new sources, is particularly well done.

Not surprisingly, such a complex statistical study based on a limited number of years and restricted in geography cannot give a complete picture and is therefore subject to challenge. Two items, for instance, might be cited to point up the difficulties here. First, although the analysis of the trade in South Carolina in the 1850s is well done, it is misleading to suggest that this was typical of the entire South or even of just the deep South as the author implies. A similar analysis for Maryland, made by another historian in the 1970s, reveals a different picture. Obviously Maryland, which was a moderately significant slave-trading state, did not reflect the South as a whole. Unless the author gives further proof, South Carolina, like Maryland, might be a special case too. Interestingly, the monograph omits the Maryland trade almost entirely.

The second point of criticism concerns the use of Federal census data and the comparisons of age categories of slaves over time to reveal the "high volume" of the trade that is otherwise hidden from view. Census data, or at least the derivations that are made from them, must be held suspect, for the census does not take into account such items as the heavy illegal importation of slaves into the deep South, or the temporary movement (and subsequent return) of slaves to southern work areas (major Maryland families like the Edward Lloyds of the Eastern Shore were frequently involved in this type of operation). Nor do the data reflect the heavy manumission of slaves in areas like Maryland and Virginia that partly explains the reductions in local slave populations that were not due to the trade southward.

Nevertheless, in spite of these shortcomings, this well done monograph presents a great deal of research and analysis that sheds new light on such specific areas as the trade in South Carolina. The study not only gives us a clear insight into the complex area of the interstate slave trade, it also invokes renewed interest in the theme of American slavery, which in turn may lead us closer to the truth.

WILLIAM CALDERHEAD
United States Naval Academy

From New Bern to Fredericksburg: Captain James Wren's Diary, B Company, 48th Pennsylvania Volunteers, February 20, 1862-December 17, 1862. Edited by John Michael Priest. (Shippensburg, Penna.: White Mane Publishing Co., 1990. Pp. vi, 140. Appendix, notes, index. \$24.95.)

Priest, a history teacher at South Hagerstown High School, discovered this manuscript while researching his previous book, *Antietam: The Soldiers' Battle*, and he resolved to make use of it in his classes. Then, availing themselves of the United States Army Military History Institute at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania and the Western Maryland Room at the Washington County Free Library, teacher and

students edited and annotated the virtually unpunctuated diary for publication. They enhanced the text with maps and photographs, and furnished biographical footnotes for most of the names mentioned. There is a one-page bibliography, a thorough index of names and places, and a four-page guide to the author's highly erratic spelling.

Captain Wren's diary covers the bulk of the year 1862 and has been divided into chapters entitled "The North Carolina Expedition," "Virginia," "Maryland," and "Virginia Again." The diary thus includes insights into the fighting at New Bern, Second Bull Run, South Mountain, Antietam and Fredericksburg.

Thirty-six-year-old James Wren left his home in Pottsville, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania in April, 1861 and arrived in Washington as one of the first volunteer troops to appear there. He signed up first for three months and then in September for a three-year enlistment, joining the 48th Pennsylvania Volunteers and becoming captain of this regiment's Company B. In May, 1863, six months after the diary's final entry, Wren yielded to pressure from his business partner in Pennsylvania and resigned from service.

As a veteran Captain Wren was proud of his war service and occasionally gave public lectures about his experience as a soldier. A privately printed family history lists him as living in Boyertown, Pennsylvania in 1907, but Priest and his research team were unable to find a specific date for Wren's death, thereby failing to give their editorial undertaking a sense of closure.

In his diary Captain Wren was characteristically cheerful. Gen. Jesse Reno, whom he admired greatly (and who incidentally was a native West Virginian), was consistently given the highest praise; he noted the ladies who welcomed his troops near Damascus and in New Market, Maryland for their congeniality; a prayer offered by the chaplain in camp was "very fine" (p. 76); and he even described a matched pair of plump amputated arms in the hospital yard as "beautiful" (p. 69). Wren's cheerful assessments extended even to rebels, as when he paid tribute to a group of Southerners in their impressive gray uniforms for being the best looking lot he had seen so far in the war.

His relations with Col. Clark Moulton Avery of the 33rd North Carolina Volunteers after the latter was taken prisoner at New Bern, constituted a poignant tale of friendship across enemy lines. Struck by Avery's "gentlemanly behaviour" and "manly aparence" ("His eye is enough to tell any one that he is a brave man," [p. 12]), Wren invited the prisoner to share his breakfast and a plug of tobacco. Later, when Wren ventured into New Bern to arrange for the transport of his battery through the city, he again met Colonel Avery, who safely escorted him through a potentially hostile crowd and bought him a drink.

But the details of war cannot always be upbeat. One of Wren's first descriptions of violence recorded how a company of drunken Union soldiers brutally attacked a group of Negro contrabands, injuring and even killing some of the black civilians.

Although generally uncritical of his superiors, Captain Wren did blame Generals Irvin McDowell and Fitz-John Porter for the loss of Second Bull Run and agreed with the court-martial's guilty verdict for Porter. The normally imperturbable

Wren resorted almost to purple prose as he recorded the sad news that the much loved Gen. Jesse Reno, wounded in the lungs, "died without a murmur" (p. 69).

Captain Wren's references to Maryland are invariably positive. He wrote that New Market especially was a "fine little town" (p. 64) and that a young lady near Sharpsburg baked him fifty biscuits. The 2nd Maryland Infantry Regiment, which supported Wren's men in battle, is mentioned five times. On 15 August 1862, for example, in camp near Culpeper Court House, Virginia, he wrote that the "2nd Maryland Regiment, 4 Companies of them, went out on picket & took one rebel Prisoner & one flag & one spy Glass & the implements of a Rebel signal Corps" (p. 48).

Despite covering but a single year of the war, Captain Wren's journal is satisfying because its pleasing balance of camp minutiae and battle commentary reflects the easygoing and unprejudiced observations of an ostensibly model Union soldier, and because the editorial team has done such an excellent job of converting a stream of unpunctuated prose into a highly readable narrative, now accessible to all.

JACK SHREVE

Allegany Community College

The Confederate States Marine Corps: Rebel Leathernecks. By Ralph W. Donnelly. (Shippensburg, Penna.: White Mane Publishing Co., 1989. Pp. vii, 337. Illustrations, index. \$24.95.)

When J. Thomas Scharf wrote his classic 1887 *History of the Confederate States Navy* he devoted all of four pages to the Confederate marines, apologizing for "a scant index" of their services, which he attributed to their small size and the lack of records of actions that noted their presence. This subject came to haunt Ralph Donnelly, a former school teacher employed in the United States Marine Corps Historical Branch. It became a near obsession with him, a sideline or hobby that consumed him for over two decades. The product of meticulous research in manuscript records, newspaper files, and genealogies emerged as he neared retirement, but no publisher could be found interested in the subject. In 1973 Mr. Donnelly privately published 300 copies of *Biographical Sketches of the Commissioned Officers of the Confederate States Marine Corps* as the second of a projected three-volume work. Volume one, *The History of the Confederate States Marine Corps*, was privately printed in 1976, the year after he retired, followed in 1979 by the third volume, *Service Records of Confederate Enlisted Marines*. These two were limited to six hundred copies each. Donnelly had his revenge on the publishing world: his works became instant collectors' items. Still unsatisfied, he revised and updated volume two in 1983. Then came an opportunity for a professionally printed hardback to replace the scarce, offset-printed typescripts. Donnelly had spun off to a projected history of the Revenue Marine, fore-runner of the Coast Guard, but he had continued to accumulate research on his cherished "Rebel Leathernecks."

The Confederate marines were a microcosm of the struggle that split the nation in 1861. The United States Marines were a small, proud, elite force with a corps

history and tradition. To leave it was even more of a wrenching decision than for many Southern officers of the army and navy. One wonders if their comrades in the old corps ever forgave them, as seems generally to have been the case with professional army officers. Donnelly reckons the pre-war Marine Corps at approximately "over-strength regiment" size, some 1,775 men, constituting about 20 percent of the size of the navy. By contrast, the Confederate counterpart probably never exceeded six hundred men at any one time. (Interestingly, the wartime U.S. Marines grew only to 7 percent of the wartime navy, whereas the smaller C.S.M.C. was slightly more than 13 percent of a smaller navy.)

Maintaining many of the traditions and practices of "the old Corps," the new breed in gray nevertheless introduced some innovations. Perhaps influenced by the British, they provided for organization in six companies, plus a headquarters. (Donnelly even investigates whether the Confederates might have had a marine band!) After treating organization and the first year in separate chapters, Donnelly considers Confederate marines in five locations (Virginia, Mobile, Savannah, North Carolina, Charleston) and the high seas, looks at the lives of enlisted man and officer, and provides biographical sketches of the officers, ending with the conclusions of a lifetime of study.

For one familiar with his original work, the surprise of this book is that it is not a reprint of one or all, but an updated, condensed tome, able to stand alone (and it will be the classic). Yet it is also an extension of the earlier work, foregoing useful details that will still merit consultation. Donnelly never implies that his marines played a decisive role in the Confederate war machine. He does, however, appreciate them for what they were and what they represented: brave, dedicated, professional warriors who did their part, then passed from the scene and were forgotten. Ralph Donnelly has restored them and their service to memory. In the process, incidentally, he has recorded one of the best accounts of the abortive Confederate combined operation planned for Point Lookout in 1864. (As Gen. Jubal Early moved on Washington from the west, Bradley T. Johnson's cavalry command was to dash toward St. Mary's County, cutting railroad lines and gathering up horses. Meanwhile, a joint Confederate army-navy-marine landing force was to make an amphibious landing from two ships, free and arm the prisoners of war, and fight their way to meet Early.) This book was a labor of love and is a legacy of a dedicated researcher and writer: Mr. Donnelly died in 1989 as his opus was "put to bed."

DAVID WINFRED GADDY
New Carrollton

Andrew Johnson: A Biography. By Hans L. Trefousse. (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Co., 1989. Pp. 463. Notes, index. \$25.)

This book is without question the most detailed and meticulously documented study of Andrew Johnson's life and career ever written. Making use of materials now available in the Andrew Johnson Papers, Hans L. Trefousse has produced such a fair and understanding treatment of the seventeenth president that it will be difficult for future biographers to improve upon it.

Trefousse provides a thorough description of Johnson's early years as a Tennessee politician. Devoting several chapters to his terms in the House and Senate, his service as the state's civilian and military governor, and his brief tenure as vice-president, Trefousse gives the reader a clear picture of Johnson's rise to political prominence from his uneducated, poor white origin through his defeat of powerful rivals both within and without the democratic party in Tennessee. While these chapters are judicious in their treatment of Johnson's early life, and reveal interesting facets about his pre-Civil War years, they also set the stage for his more controversial presidency.

Fittingly, Trefousse devotes the last half of his work to the Civil War and its aftermath. Although attempting to remain impartial in his analysis of Johnson's role during Reconstruction, the author emphasizes the president's insistence that Reconstruction was an executive rather than a legislative function and his belief that the newly emancipated freedman would play little or no role in that Reconstruction—or as Johnson liked to call it, restoration—process. The South that was to be restored as quickly as possible would be little changed from antebellum years. Johnson's refusal to accept any deviation from those views doomed his policy in the eyes of northern Republicans and eventually brought him to impeachment and to the brink of removal from office. In addition, throughout his volume Trefousse stresses Johnson's rigid adherence to the Jeffersonian-Jacksonian ideal of small farmer and worker, his outspoken racism, and his strict construction of the Constitution. He also shares the view held by other historians that Johnson never seemed to grasp the fact that politics is the art of the possible; his failure to act on this principle cost him dearly. Had he been willing to bend on some of those beliefs and seek compromise with northern Republicans, he might have been able to bring about a more peaceful reconciliation which both North and South seemed willing to accept in 1865-66. As a result, a golden opportunity was missed to repair the damages of war and to avoid many years of animosity between North and South.

On the whole, one must conclude that this is a well-organized, carefully written, and thoroughly readable book. No one will need to write another biography of Johnson for many years to come. Despite the mass of detail presented, the story moves swiftly and interestingly. The author has written candidly about Johnson's methods and tactics and about the more unattractive aspects of his personality and character. Trefousse does not overlook the fact that at times Johnson was a bully, used tactics that were to say the least questionable if not unethical, and magnified his own efforts and self-importance when it suited his purpose. At the same time

he admires his courage and determination to make something of himself, and his devotion to the cause of union. Yet even Trefousse cannot fully understand why Johnson, clearly a child of the nineteenth century, failed to grow and change as the country moved from an agrarian to an industrial society. This inability to move with the times may well explain Johnson's difficult if not tragic years in the White House.

JOHN MULDOWNY

University of Tennessee, Knoxville

The Secret Eye: The Journal of Ella Gertrude Clanton Thomas, 1848-1898. Edited by Virginia Ingraham Burr. Introduction by Nell Irwin Painter. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990. Pp. xx, 469. Notes, index. \$34.95 cloth; \$12.95 paper.)

In November 1864, fearing the arrival of Yankee troops on their march of devastation, the Georgia matron Gertrude Thomas packed her family treasures. Finding old papers, mementos of her youth, she recorded in her diary: "Journals, those letters, those treasured locks of hair I *could not* let them go and I have packed them to be sent off instead of the silver" (p. 246). Then in May, attempting to deal with social changes forced by the Yankee occupiers, she wrote again: "I shall put my Journal in a safe place for I intend to express myself fearlessly and candidly upon all points" (p. 264).

This journal of a half-century takes Gertrude from a fourteen-year-old girl, daughter of wealthy planter Turner Clanton, through her schooling at Wesleyan Female College in Macon, her debut, her courtship, marriage and young motherhood and on through the somber days of the Civil War and the economic collapse of the family. From the first word of her initial diary—"Rochester"—her name for one of her father's properties, Gertrude signaled her interest in literature, for she was inspired by the reading of *Jane Eyre*. Although early pages of the journal show an adolescent interest in clothing and lessons, two themes that continue throughout her mature years are here prominently introduced—her committed Methodism, to which she was converted, and her abiding interest in reading, writing (sometimes two and three times in the same day, and later with hopes of publication), and the value of education. Bankrupted after the war, she writes she can be happy if an education can be managed for the children. The future for the former Confederacy rests, she feels, on the provision of education for poor boys as well as the rich. When her husband, always in debt, prevailed on her to sign away rights to her personal properties, which were successively mortgaged and lost, Gertrude for many years ran a small school to keep the family afloat.

Thomas indeed expressed herself candidly on the most sensitive social issues of her day. But on details of her personal life she was reticent. By middle-age her sense of her diary's readership shifted from herself (the "secret eye" of the title) to sons, and then to possible grandsons. The stresses she felt in dealing with a by-now verbally abusive (and perhaps alcoholic) husband she only obliquely revealed, yet

her comment that some things were best concealed alerted her editor to what may have been suppressed. The humiliations she felt over the family's poverty and the debts they owed, on the other hand, she openly discussed—primarily because Thomas laid upon these sons the burden of discharging them.

Like many Southern women, Thomas was dismayed by the effects of slavery—on the forced dependency and illiteracy of the slaves themselves, but more particularly on the moral deterioration of slave masters and overseers, who sexually exploited the relationship. Her objections to the sexual liaisons between blacks and whites were based less on the mixing of the races than on their adulterous nature. Commenting on the action of a man who declared his son insane when the latter moved north to marry his mulatto mistress, Thomas wrote:

He preferred having him living in a constant state of sin—to having him pass the boundary of Caste. I can well understand his horror of that kind of marriage. I can appreciate his feeling perfect antipathy to having negro blood mingle in the veins of his descendants but I cannot understand his feeling of indifference to having that same blood flowing through the veins of a race of descendants held in perpetual slavery—perhaps by other men— (p. 168).

As early as 1869 she was predicting racial intermarriages: "I am handling the subject fearlessly as a great social problem" (p. 320).

Thomas was always interested in the cultural world of the slaves, attending with pleasure their funerals, weddings, and camp meetings; in 1887 she supported a bill for common education, including blacks. "Education should be compulsory.... Let us remember we owe the colored race a debt of gratitude. I would rather be taxed to educate the colored families whose fathers labored faithfully for us, than to pay a pension to support the Union soldiers who fought against us..." (p. 449). In 1870 she visited Washington and Baltimore, commenting on how "Maryland, my Maryland" ran in her mind, recalling "when we dreamed and thought we had a country of which we could be proud." (p. 339).

The diary-keeping ended when Thomas became active in public policy activities—the suffrage movement (at sixty-five serving as state president in Georgia), the WCTU, the Grange, education for women, prison reform. The writer of an obituary described her as "one of the most brilliant and brainy women of her time" (p. 454). And indeed the readability, the sustained interest of this diary, with its keen observations and full detail and its continuing concern with social justice, offers an unusually rich insight into a crucial period of social change.

VIRGINIA WALCOTT BEAUCHAMP

*Department of English
University of Maryland, College Park*

Desegregating the Altar: The Josephites and the Struggle for Black Priests 1871-1960. By Stephen J. Ochs. (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1990. Pp. xviii, 500. Appendix, notes, index. \$39.95.)

The title of this work is an accurate description of its contents; it is indeed the story of how a community of priests and brothers dedicated to the pastoral ministry and the evangelization of African-American Catholics dealt with the profoundly problematic issue of ordaining black men for the priesthood. Because there are still some white Catholics who will not attend a liturgy at which a black priest presides, Josephites and others are still dealing with this problem of racism in certain parish communities. The date 1871 represents the arrival of the Society of the Sacred Heart for Foreign Missions in the Archdiocese of Baltimore. Referred to as the Mill Hill Fathers because of their foundation in a London suburb of that name, these British Josephites remained in the United States until 1893 when some priests and brothers became an independent American community. The opening chapter, "Lost Harvest," includes a neatly crafted narrative of the origins of the black Catholic community and traces the Catholic church's involvement in slavery and the predominant Catholic attitudes toward the Civil War and Reconstruction. The closing date of 1960 marks the beginning of a new era in the development of the African-American consciousness, one that greatly affected the self understanding of those directly involved in desegregating the altar.

However, in the epilogue, Stephen J. Ochs summarizes the salient trends of the last thirty years and focuses upon the major areas that comprise this history: the Josephites, other religious communities committed to the evangelization of black Catholics, episcopal leaders of the Catholic church, the principal lay persons in the African-American Catholic community who represent the voice of protest, and the deep currents of racism in American religion and culture.

The ten chapters of the book may be divided into three parts: the rise and decline of John R. Slattery and his plan for a black clergy, 1877-1906; the period of the Josephites' retreat from the battle to desegregate the priesthood, 1906-1942; and the renewal of the Slattery plan, 1942-1960, a development that was precipitated by the ordination of four black priests from St. Augustine's Seminary (1934), operated by the Society of the Divine Word for black seminarians in Bay St. Louis, Mississippi. The focus is upon the leadership of the Josephites, their relationships with United States bishops, particularly in Louisiana and Mississippi, and the persistence of African-American lay leadership in challenging the Josephites to engage in the struggle to combat Jim Crow in church and society. The Vatican played a generally moderate role in promoting desegregation of the clergy, and John LaFarge, S.J., founder of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York, and other white priests allied in this movement were progressive forces within the church in the 1940s and 1950s. Though black lay Catholic leadership was a major force outside ecclesiastical structure, the battle was won when the Society of the Divine Word, the Josephites, the white clergy, and episcopal leaders no longer capitulated

to their fears of Jim Crow and anti-Catholicism but adopted a gradualist policy within the ecclesiastical structure.

Stephen J. Ochs's narrative is based upon an exhaustive exploitation of the sources, particularly the Josephite archives, a major repository not only of the community's history but also of the religious story of the African-American community. The history entails detailed accounts of the major characters in this deeply moving drama. There is John R. Slattery, determined to defeat the ugly forces of racism in religion, only to become so disillusioned not only with the issue of race but with the general ecclesiastical traditionalism that he left the priesthood and the Catholic church. Ochs's portraits of the three black Josephite priests ordained under Slattery's plan are deftly drawn in chiaroscuro tones representing their personal journeys through the many valleys of disillusionment and the rare experiences on the mountain tops of priestly self-fulfillment.

Ochs contextualizes this history with lively explorations into African-American Catholic life, particularly such protest figures as Daniel Rudd of the African-American Catholic Congresses (1889-1894) and Thomas Wyatt Turner of the Committee for the Advancement of Colored Catholics. Detailed analysis of correspondence among the principal persons in the story, i.e., Josephite superiors general, bishops, apostolic delegates of the Vatican, and clerical and lay leaders, may appear excessive but because this history encompasses areas hitherto unexplored such detail is necessary. The detail also stands as a significant exegesis of the documentary evidence on the depths of racism in church and society; such evidence helps to explain the appeal of the movement led by the Rev. George A. Stallings and his Imani Temple.

This is a book that is of particular interest to students of Maryland and Baltimore history. Along with the Oblate Sisters of Providence, the first community of African-American women religious, the Josephites were founded in Baltimore. Because only twelve black priests were ordained during the first century of Oblate history (1829-1929) these sisters were the primary ministers—beyond the altar—to their people.

An important feature of this work are the two appendices; one lists black Catholic priests by years of ordination, 1854-1960; the other charts the growth of the black Catholic population, 1890-1960. These statistics reveal the sad account of desegregating the altar: between 1854 and 1949 there were fifty-three ordinations; between 1950-1960 there were seventy-one new members of the black Catholic clergy. The bibliographical essay of twenty-one pages represents Ochs's command of the primary sources and secondary literature and is a useful reference for students and general readers. In short, this is an excellent study of one community's encounter with its own, its church's and its culture's racism. If this book achieves a second edition I hope to find a comparative analysis of the Catholic and the American Episcopal churches' desegregation of the altar.

CHRISTOPHER J. KAUFFMAN
Editor, The U.S. Catholic Historian

Tar Heel Politics: Myths and Realities. By Paul Luebke. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1990. Pp. xi, 238. Bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth; \$10.95 paper.)

In this straightforward and generally dispassionate analysis of the last three decades of North Carolina political life, Paul Luebke attempts to dispel the myth of North Carolina liberalism. Luebke, a political sociologist at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, argues that the state's recent political history is a struggle between two economic elites, traditionalists and modernizers.

Traditionalists are rural or small town people associated with agriculture or traditional North Carolina industries such as textiles, furniture, and tobacco who feel threatened by change and growth. Traditionalists tend to be members of fundamentalist Protestant denominations and prefer a deferential relationship between employers and employees, whites and blacks, and husbands and wives. Modernizers, on the other hand, expect to benefit from change and growth. More likely to be from urban areas and associated with banking, development or high technology, modernizers generally receive more support from the news media, universities, and state government. Modernizers strongly believe in the value of public education and are willing to raise taxes in order to promote that goal.

This may sound very much like a description of conservatives and liberals, but Luebke sees one crucial difference, at least on the modernizer side. Modernizers believe that the best way to benefit the average citizen is to expand the economic pie rather than redistribute it. Modernizers are far more amenable than traditionalists to efforts by labor unions, women, and minorities to gain access to power but only in the interest of efficiency and consensus, not social justice.

Luebke traces this dichotomy to the early years of the twentieth century, when it was largely played out in the Democratic party and decided in that party's primary. The focus of his book, however, is the period since 1960. Luebke sees the successes of the Republican party in those years as part of a process not of realignment but of dealignment. Nominal North Carolina Democrats of a traditional stripe have increasingly deserted that party to vote Republican in national or state elections but have stayed Democratic in local elections, in large part because of the weakness of the Republican party on the local level. However, Luebke sees the Republicans becoming an increasingly successful blend of modernizers and traditionalists and predicts that it will be difficult for Democrats to regain their earlier dominance. Along those lines, he sees arch-traditionalist Jesse Helms more as an anomaly than as the wave of the Republican future.

This analysis is not just academic for Luebke. Far from being the stereotypical ivory tower intellectual, he is a North Carolina political activist and, at this writing, a candidate for the North Carolina General Assembly. Lurking throughout this book is the hint of a third approach, a citizen-based coalition that focuses on social justice and challenges the existing economic assumptions of both the modernizer and traditional elites. It is readily apparent that such an approach is more likely to arise in the Democratic party. Luebke chides the Democrats for ignoring this

avenue and maintains that only with such an appeal can that party retake the political initiative from their opponents.

Luebke's mastery of North Carolina politics is evident throughout this book. Indeed his bibliography cites more than two dozen works that he has either authored or coauthored. Given this mastery some readers will doubtless be disappointed that he does not carry this analysis into other southern states, most of which have undergone a similar process in recent years. Yet within his chosen sphere, Luebke has written a highly useful look at North Carolina's recent political past and possible future.

JIM L. SUMNER

North Carolina Division of Archives and History

Books Received

Dex Nilsson's *Discover Why It's Called...* presents the stories behind the names of 150 Maryland Eastern Shore towns. This souvenir booklet is arranged by county, starting as one goes east across the Chesapeake Bay Bridge. Each county chapter begins with a map showing the most commonly traveled routes and approximate locations of the places described. In addition, the booklet contains biographical sketches of the Lords Baltimore.

Twinbrook Communications, \$5.95

The Chesapeake Bay Cookbook by John Shields compiles many of the recipes native to the bay area. The recipes are grouped according to the region where they originated (i.e. Annapolis, Baltimore, Tilghman Island) and include crab, oyster, fish, and terrapin delicacies as well as recipes for such bay country delights as Lord and Lady Baltimore cakes, bayside biscuits, and Crisfield fried manos. Mr. Shields also provides descriptions of the different types of crab meat, fish and flavors found in the Chesapeake region.

Aris Books, Addison-Wesley, \$12.95 (paper)

Garner Ranney, historiographer of the Diocese of Maryland, has edited two travel diaries of Duncan Farrar Kenner (1813-1887) in his one-volume work, *A Man of Pleasure—And a Man of Business*. A powerful member of the Confederate Congress and later an influential man in Louisiana, Kenner in 1833-34 made his "Grand Tour" of Europe and met many notables of that era. Through careful transcriptions and informative end notes Ranney shows the development of a nineteenth-century leader.

University of Southwestern Louisiana, \$15

Paul H. Smith and his editorial staff at the Library of Congress have published volume 17 in the *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789*, this one covering the period 1 March 1781 to the end of August 1781. During those six months, Congress ratified the Articles of Confederation, in whose shaping Maryland had played so important a part, and watched anxiously military developments in Virginia. Lord Cornwallis, failing in his attempts to defeat Nathaniel Greene's army (including its powerful Maryland Line contingent), invaded the country's largest state, sending Governor Thomas Jefferson and the assembly fleeing for the west. At the end of the volume General Washington has completed plans with the French to bottle up Cornwallis on the York-James peninsula.

U.S. Government Printing Office, \$34

Notices

WAR OF 1812 LETTERS PURCHASED FOR THE SOCIETY

The Manuscripts Division of the Maryland Historical Society is proud to announce the recent acquisition of six important letters concerning the defense of Baltimore in September, 1814. Letters one through four were donated by Stephanie White-Trivas in memory of revolutionary patriot Thomas White; Capt. William White, who served in the War of 1812; Maj. James Carroll White, a surgeon at the Battle of Antietam; and Dr. Edward H. White and his wife, Elizabeth Garrett White. The remaining letters were donated by the White Family Genealogical Society in honor of Stephanie White-Trivas, member of the Baltimore Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and Alexander and Jonathan White-Trivas; and by Eldon J. White in memory of Betty Pamfilis White. A short article and transcription of these letters will appear in the fall 1991 issue of this magazine.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY BOOK PRIZE

Each year the Maryland Historical Society awards a prize of \$1000 to the author of a book, published during the preceding two years, which makes an unusual contribution to our understanding of Maryland history and/or culture. The prize recognizes original scholarship, fullness of interpretation, and high literary quality. This year's prize has been awarded to Robert Micklus for his definitive edition of *The History of the Ancient and Honorable Tuesday Club*, by Dr. Alexander Hamilton (3 vols.; Chapel Hill: Institute of Early American History and Culture and the University of North Carolina Press, 1990).

SIXTH ANNUAL MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE PRIZE

In 1984, as part of the state's 350th anniversary, the Publications Committee of the Maryland Historical Society established an annual award of \$350 for the most distinguished article to appear in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* during the previous year. The prize for the 1990 volume goes jointly to James Haw for his "Patronage, Politics, and Ideology, 1753-1762: A Prelude to Revolution in Maryland" (fall issue), and to Jean Butenhoff Lee, author of "Maryland's 'Dangerous Insurrection' of 1786" (winter issue).

CANDLELIGHT TOUR OF HISTORIC CHESTERTOWN

The Historical Society of Kent County will sponsor the twenty-second annual Candlelight Walking Tour of Historic Chestertown, Maryland, on Saturday, 21

September 1991, from 6 P.M. until 10 P.M., rain or shine. Sixteen buildings representing three centuries will be open to the public. Tickets are \$15.00 per person and may be obtained through the Historical Society of Kent County, Inc., POB 665, Chestertown, Maryland 21620. For additional information, please call Nancy K. Nunn, at 301/778-3499.

ANTIQUÉ SHOW AND SALE

The thirty-second annual Tobacco Barn Antiques Show and Sale will take place 27-29 September 1991 at the Planter's Tobacco Warehouse in Upper Marlboro, Maryland. Ninety-four dealers from seventeen states will offer furniture, silver, pewter, glassware, etc. for sale. Admission is \$5.00 per person. For additional information, please call 301/627-8469.

GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

The Irish American Cultural Institute, an education foundation based in St. Paul, Minnesota, administers the Irish Research Funds program to support the study of Irish-American history, literature, and life. Deadline for applications is 1 August 1991. Contact the Irish American Cultural Institute, 2115 Summit Avenue, University of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minnesota 55105.

AUTHOR QUERY

Seeking information on Dr. Peregrine Wroth (1785-1878) of Chestertown, Maryland, and on Henry McCann, a British-American portrait painter who was active in Baltimore, Maryland, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1840-60. Mr. McCann's daughter, Mary, was an artist as was his son, a landscape painter working in New York in the late 19th century. Please send any information on these persons to Dr. Davy McCall, Box 123, Gibson Island, Maryland 21056.

Maryland Picture Puzzle

Test your knowledge of Maryland history by identifying this eastern Maryland scene. When and where was this photograph taken? What building is this, and what changes have taken place?

The winter 1990 Picture Puzzle was correctly identified by the following people: Mr. Bill Ameck; Mr. Al Feldstein; Mr. William Hollifield; and Mr. Arthur F. Pittinger.



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*The Biography of
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Caroline H. Keith is a writer and former Editor of *The Maryland Historian*. The Maryland Historical Society is a co-sponsor of this book.

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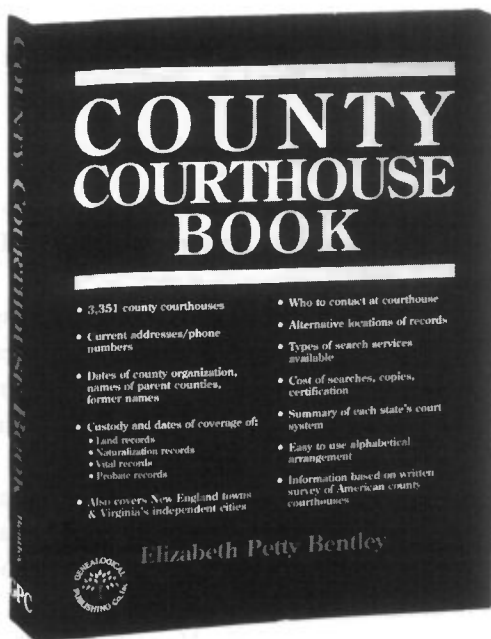


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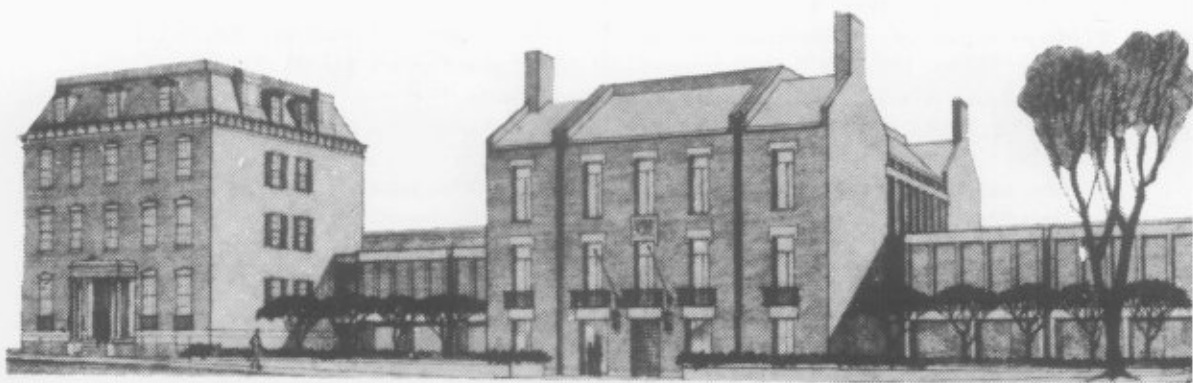
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